

The Journal of Historical Review

This Issue:

Dr. James J. Martin

CONSCRIPTION—40 Years Ago

Harry Elmer Barnes

REVISIONISM AND PEACE

Willis A. Carto

On the Uses of History

NEMESIS LEGALIS: Inquiry on Trial

- Abuses of 'Judicial Notice'
- *The Declaration of Mark Weber*

BOOK REVIEWS:

The new Dawidowicz opus & others

The Journal of Historical Review

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CONTENTS

Correspondence	5
Peacetime Registration for Conscription—Forty Years Ago <i>Dr. James J. Martin</i>	15
On the Uses of History <i>Willis A. Carto</i>	27
Declaration of Mark Edward Weber	31
Facts, Allegations and Judicial Notice <i>Counsel for Defendants</i>	47
Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace <i>Harry Elmer Barnes</i>	53
Book Reviews	85
About the Contributors	96

A Note From The Editor

The issue you now hold in your hands marks the beginning of our third year of continuous on-time publication of *The Journal of Historical Review*—an accomplishment of no small magnitude considering the incessant and sundry counter-efforts of the forcefully disagreeable.

You may notice that many of the pages herein have been set in a slightly smaller type and have a bit more depth. These improvements were incorporated with the distinct aim of bringing our readers an increased amount of reading without having to sacrifice to the higher costs associated with printing and mailing a heavier book.

But the sheer amount of quality Revisionist material available has been growing steadily of late, motivating us to make even further expansion plans for *The Journal*.

So, beginning with the next issue (Summer 1982), subscribers will be receiving a new 128-page quarterly rather than the usual 96-pages.

Additionally, we'll be setting the type sufficiently large to be comfortably read, but somewhat smaller than earlier issues.

Together, these changes will amount to about twice the material per issue, but with an accompanying subscription rate increase to only \$30 per year. As we expand *The Journal* format, incorporating more articles, costs necessarily increase—typesetting, printing, mailing, fees, etc. But this is the price that must be paid to facilitate the publication of much more of the important Revisionist material and, at the same time, cover our costs, thereby ensuring the continued financial viability of both *The Journal* and the IHR.

Of course, the *IHR Newsletter*—as a more topical update and supplement to *The Journal*—will still be mailed regularly to our subscribers at no additional charge. So, you won't be paying more for less, but a little more for proportionately much more.

Now, to this issue. We have a self-published Barnes piece that has not appeared in any previous IHR publications; a revealing and analogous look at conscription by Dr. Jim Martin; a concise survey of the uses of history by the IHR's founder, Willis Carto; and two articles—one by Mark Weber—that make for an essential understanding of one of the more ominous aspects of the \$17 million lawsuit against the IHR.

We also have plenty of appropriate correspondence and numerous book reviews.

And, as always, your comments and suggestions are encouraged.

Correspondence

COMMENTS ON LAST ISSUE

Dr. Howard Stein's letter of the 13th April (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981) honors him and (pace Signor Maiolini) adds to the intellectual caliber of the great debate. To Stein's "tu quoque" in regard to sociobiology and in defense of psychohistory, I must ruefully concede (to change the language employed) "toucheé." I am very willing also to concede his charge that the re-examination of the holocaust myth is by no means without ulterior motives.

It seems to me that there are two problems involved. The first is the historical piety of seeking, as far as is ever possible when dealing with the intangible past, objective truth. The second is an attempt to deal with the enormously destructive effect of this particular myth upon our culture, civilization, society and politics. There can be, I think, little doubt that the uncritical acceptance of the holocaust myth as a kind of "holy writ" has been of immense financial and political profit to Israel. But that is the least important of its effects. It has inhibited and distorted all studies of race; it has inhibited any rational discussion of the increasingly urgent question of eugenics; it has paralyzed the implementation of a rational foreign policy by the United States and its client kingdoms; and it has perpetuated an unjust and unhealthy teutonophobia in the general public. In sum, it has distorted and, indeed, poisoned, the corporate mind of Western Civilization.

Professor Stein advocates empathy. I entirely agree. As any competent actor knows, there can be no valid understanding of a character (and, by extension, of a people) without that imaginative leap "inside" that character. But empathy is not synonymous with sympathy or advocacy. But again I must honor Dr. Stein. Neither scientists nor historians can be detached automata without ties and loyalties. History "wie es eigentlich gewesen" is a noble but impossible aim. Nevertheless we must seek the truth as far as is humanly possible. It must be acutely painful and require great integrity and courage for Dr. Stein to question in any degree the holocaust myth.

History is inevitably replete with myths. No historical statement beyond the crude basic level of dates and names is, or ever can be, the whole and absolute truth. But some myths are far more dangerous than others. And that is my answer to Dr. Stein's question: "Why do I need to disprove this particular myth and not some other?"

On a different matter, I must say that I found Dr. Wesserle's article, "Bombs on Britain" somewhat irritating. Churchill was a megalomaniacal monster. His involvement in the dirty business of the Lusitania, his deliberate and skillfull promotion of a war psychosis in Britain in the

1930s (in the service of his own insatiable ambition), his commitment (for the same reason) to "unconditional surrender," which resulted in the destruction of that British empire of whose perpetuation he so often claimed to be the dedicated champion; the plans to use gas and, even more horrible, anthrax bombs on Germany—all these things are indictment enough. But for Dr. Wesserle to complain that the Anglo-American air forces dropped more bombs on Germany than the Germans did on Britain is to divert from the essential point; Germany simply lacked the capacity to do things on the same scale. I have nothing but sympathy for Germany. I think she was treated in 1919 with appalling injustice and cruelty; that Hitler's aims of reversing the Carthaginian verdict of Versailles were wholly reasonable and just; that the Second World War was suicidal insanity and that the declaration of war on Germany by Britain and France in 1939 was monstrously criminal. But after all that has been admitted, it is still ridiculous to suggest that war, once it is in progress, should be restricted to a sporting balance of forces between the belligerents.

Wayland D. Smith, Ph.D.

REVISIONISM A LA FREUD?

I've just completed reading the new issue of *The Journal for Historical Review* (Winter 1981). You've put together a really great issue. Devastating. Faurisson, Wesserle, Lutton—all great!

I was interested to read Ezio M. Maiolini's rather anxious letter on Dr. Stein. I know any "Freudian" connotations drives some of your readers up the wall! But we can learn from the neo-Freudians as well as the libertarians. I'm not a Freudian myself but there's some important stuff being written by the psychohistorians that we can't ignore. By the way, if Ezio would read some of Dr. Stein's other material he'd discover that Howard does make mention of the situation in 17th Century Ukraine! On the other hand, I agree that some of the psychohistorian's ruminations about a "feminized France," etc. turn me off!

Bezalel Chaim
The Revisionist Press

DITTO?

We thank you for printing the letter by Ezio M. Maiolini in your Winter 1981 issue. We, "don't want the events of World War II apologized or psychoanalyzed into history," either!

We will add to his comments about *Commentary* or *The American Spectator* that, speaking for ourselves, we do not subscribe to these because they are the type of publications that they are. We do subscribe to *The Journal* because of its historical value!

Mr. Maiolini's letter makes some good points!

Mr. & Mrs. L.E. Wicks

MORE ON "ORADOUR"

Thank you for your letter of 23 November. I should learn my lesson by now and wait at least a few days before responding to something that irritates me. I won't be so intemperate this time and will try and give an overview of the German side of the "Oradour" story as well as respond to Mr. Beck (see The JHR, Winter 1981).

Actually, I was very happy to read Mr. Lutton's "The Miracle of Dunkirk Reconsidered" book review, as it helped fill in the pieces for some research that I have been working on for years. Unfortunately I didn't encounter this piece until after having already written you!

I am enclosing a clipping that you may have already seen from a Sunday newspaper magazine supplement titled *Parade*, which is rather notorious for its propaganda pieces. I assume this little piece is probably based on Mr. Beck's work. The line about the SS departing the town singing and playing accordions is so ludicrous that it defies all credibility!

At any rate, I have more than enough information on hand to I hope effectively refute some of Mr. Beck's contentions. I am enclosing also for your benefit a photocopy of my article on "Oradour" that appeared in Siegrunen #21. Mr. Beck did not really address himself to the most important points made therein. It is also fairly apparent that Mr. Beck is probably totally ignorant of the German point-of-view. I would have assumed that in writing his book he would have at least consulted the writings left behind by German "survivors" of the "Oradour" incident. The fact that he probably didn't makes it a little difficult for me to take his work seriously!

Here then are the most important points of the "Oradour" story from the German side:

1) 9 June 1944: Obersturmfuehrer Gerlach, ordnance officer of the 2nd SS Assault Gun detachment/"Das Reich" Division is ambushed by French partisans and taken into a town for interrogation. The signpost to the town reads: Oradour-sur-Glane. The town is filled with signs of partisan activity. Gerlach is sentenced to death and escapes execution only after his driver obstructs the executioner giving Gerlach the chance to flee. His testimony is given later in the day to both the commander of the "Der Fuehrer" Regiment and its "Oradour" Battalion (Sturmbannfuehrer Dieckmann). Thus prior to the massacre there is strong evidence of partisan-terrorist activity and collusion in Oradour itself. This was recorded in the divisional Tagebuch for 9 June 1944.

2) During the night of 9/10 June, Sturmbannfuehrer Kaempfe was captured and then murdered by French partisans. He commanded the 3rd Battalion/"Der Fuehrer." Even though he had already been killed partisan representatives sent a ransom demand to the "Der Fuehrer" command post on the morning of 10 June. Two local Frenchmen also brought information that an important German officer was being held by the partisans in the town of Oradour. Sturmbannfuehrer Adolf Kiekmann, a close friend of Kaempfe decided to follow up on this information with two platoons from 3rd Company/1st Battalion/Regiment "Der Fuehrer."

3) Diekmann and his task force reached the outskirts of Oradour-sur-Glane by the early afternoon of 10 June. A rear area German medical dressing station was encountered en route. It had been severely fire damaged. Inside were found the shackled and chained bodies of German wounded and medics who had been burned alive inside of the building by the partisans. At this point Diekmann's duty became clear: according to the "Sperrle Decree," any act of terror committed against German forces behind the frontlines had to be met with an immediate punitive response. The town of Oradour, which had already been implicated twice, by Ostuf. Gerlach and the French informers, was now going to feel a reprisal action no matter what.

4) Diekmann's command entered Oradour and rounded up the citizenry. The Mayor was questioned as to the extent of partisan activities in the area and the whereabouts of Stubaf. Kaempfe. He professed ignorance. At this point one platoon was told to search the houses. Nearly every building which they entered yielded up a supply of illicit weapons! On this question the survivors of the platoon are adamant.

5) By now there was no longer any question about the links between the villagers and the partisans. The Mayor was sent out of the north end of the town with instructions to bring back Stubaf. Kaempfe alive within 30 minutes. If he failed to do so the men in the village would be shot. Naturally he failed to return. According to the soldiers the village men were marched out into a nearby field after a half-hour had passed and shot. Stubaf. Diekmann then ordered the destruction of the village. The women and children were to be held in the church, which was the only building ordered to be spared!

6) The SS troops—a majority of whom were French citizens due to their Alsatian birth—began igniting the houses. There was no thought that the fire would get out of control. The church was specifically not to be set afire; the women and children were there both for their safety and so as not to interfere with the operations. No one had any idea that hidden partisan munition caches would quickly take the fire out of control, yet this was what happened.

7) The soldiers had to protect themselves from the hail of zig-zagging bullets that came out of the burning buildings. There were also numerous explosions caused by grenades or high explosives that had also been secreted. All surviving soldiers are clear on one point; the church attic or belfry burst into flames from possibly a stray mortar round (not of German manufacture!). This in turn touched off a munitions cache hidden in the top of the church which spelled the end of the 500 women and children inside of the building. All of the defendants at the post-war "Oradour" trial testified to this point independently. Nothing could be done to provide assistance, the inferno killed everyone in a matter of a few minutes at best.

Had the church been intended for use as a place of execution it is inconceivable that the men of the village would not have been placed in there as well. But such was not the case! The atrocity writers have never been able to explain this oversight on the part of the super-efficient Germans.

9) All personnel involved in this incident were filled with horror and disbelief. Accounts of the SS departing from Oradour singing and playing accordions are ludicrous. Stubaf. Diekmann, somewhat in a state of shock reported all of the details to the "Der Fuehrer" commander, who was also horrified by the loss of the women and children. He referred the matter on to the Divisional commander who chose to postpone any investigation until after "Das Reich's" critical combat mission in Normandy was fulfilled. Stubaf. Diekmann accepted full personal responsibility for the tragedy and vowed to die on the battlefield to restore the honor of the regiment. To this end he refused any further to wear a steel helmet in combat and he died a short time later from a shell splinter in the head.

10) In December 1953 the Vice-chairman of the French communist party openly admitted that Oradour-sur-Glane was used as a regional headquarters and armory for a communist partisan band during the war.

11) While Oradour's fate was a tragic incident of war, the blame for what happened must be shared by all sides—it was by no means an exclusive German "war crime," there is enough evidence to demonstrate that by now!

As for Mr. Beck's specific points in his letter to the Winter 1981 *Journal*.

a) Mr. Beck found evidence of the use of bullets and grenades inside of the church, which is interesting because bullets and grenades composed the better part of the stored partisan armaments!

b) As for Madame Rouffanche, she most certainly would have been shot if she had tried to make a run for it so there is no contesting this point!

c) As for shooting the men in barns and other buildings this is possible, but the surviving soldiers do not remember doing this. Incidentally, the village of Oradour was back in partisan hands for the two days following the incidents and a number of "embellishments" were thought to have been made during this period. The most interesting being that some of the bodies were relocated to the oven of the town bakery. An effort was made to indict the SS men for having stuffed some people alive in the ovens—but this was later proved to have happened after the fact and after the SS were out of the area! It is therefore within the realms of possibility that the partisans may have relocated some of the bodies of the executed men.

d) For the record, Stubaf. Diekmann's two platoons at Oradour did not have any explosives, flame-throwers or heavy weapons with them, although post-war atrocity writers have since bestowed these items upon them. That the damage to the town came from more than just "fire" seems self-evident from the photographs and indeed from Mr. Beck's personal testimony. The probability that much of the extensive damage was caused by stored partisan munitions is quite likely given all of the evidence and testimony.

e) I cannot even imagine how Mr. Beck could write an entire book on Oradour and not even seem to know how to spell the name of the gentleman who took upon himself the full blame for the incident, Stubaf. Adolf Diekmann. To call him mentally unbalanced is somewhat of a slander.

Diekmann's decision to sacrifice himself was an act of personal honor and not madness!

I happen to personally believe that the German side of the "Oradour" story is, by and large, the correct one. The SS men may have been many things, but they were not liars or criminals, and they had a "code of honor" to live up to. In contrast the partisans in France and elsewhere, were often recruited from the criminal underworld or the indigenous communist movement and carried out a campaign of unscrupulous terrorism that defies any moral standards whatsoever!

What is probably most irritating about Mr. Beck's book and the massive "Nazi-atrocity" publishing industry, is that they are able to promote one side of a story as "holy writ" while totally ignoring the other side of the picture. Of course this is perhaps the reason for the existence of the *Journal of Historical Review*.

Thank you for letting me make the above points. At least it will give some people a different perspective on the situation.

Richard Landwehr

COMMENTS ON THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

I thank you very much for the winter issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. As usual, I found the book captivating to the point of being able to complete the entire work in a matter of hours.

The two articles by Dr. Faurisson on the "Gas chambers" rated right up there with Dr. Buchner's thesis on "The Problem of Cremator Hours" (*The JHR*, Fall 1981). I am amazed beyond description at Mr. Faurisson's forensic abilities in destroying with seeming ease the entire holocaust edifice of the past 36 years. I sincerely hope the good doctor will win his appeal against the French courts who seem to be caught in the same time warp as their German counterparts!

I am absolutely sickened at the turn of events in your case with Mr. Mermelstein and Cox. What a lame "defense" to fall back on! Judicial notice of what? Survivor testimony? The question should be raised "gassed with what substance?" "Gassed in what facilities?"

I am confident, however, of Mark Weber's abilities in preparing a devastating thesis for the IHR in this case. However concerned as I am about the future of IHR and intellectual freedom I must ask if you have considered presenting before the "court" (kangaroo) the four revealing documents concerning the use of zyklon B as cited by Dr. Faurisson in his thesis "The Gas Chambers; Truth or Lie?" They are Nurnberg Documents;

- a. NI-9098- Degesch's field of operations; eight lectures on aspects of.
- b. NI-9912- Directives for the use of prussic acid (zyklon) *For the Destruction of Vermin!*

Two technical studies by Gerhard Peters: (contained in the Library of Congress.)

- a. "Blausäure zur Schadlingsbekämpfung" (QD1, S2, N.F. HFT. 20 1933) 75pp
- b. "Die Hochwirksamen Gase und Dämpfe in der Schadlingsbekämpfung" (QD1, S2, N.F., HFT. 47A, 1942) 143pp

These works in themselves should be sufficient to destroy Mr. Cox and Mermelstein's vile attempts at stifling genuine inquiry into an area of "managed history." As I see it Mr. Mermelstein is attempting to continue (1) The falsification of history, (2) Attempting to circumvent the Constitution's Bill of Rights under the provision of a person's right to dissent, (3) Defamation of character in accusing the Germans of murder while offering no evidence as to the alledged murder weapon i.e. ("gas chambers"). It would be proper in this circumstance for the Steuben Society to prepare legal action against Mr. Mermelstein for defamation of character.

Please keep me informed of progress regarding legal action and of Mr. Faurisson's success with the French inquisitors. Please find enclosed two years subscription remittal.

Theodore G. Sterner, Jr.

MONUMENT-BUILDING FOR FUN & PROFIT

Just a few remarks about "Remembering the 'Holocaust'" on page 5 of newsletter of Sept. How about:

- a) An Armenian Memorial Park of 1915 to commemorate the butchery of more than two million Armenians by the Turks.
- b) A Famine Memorial Park to commemorate the mass starvation deaths of millions of Irish by their British masters in the 1850s.
- c) A Russian Patriot Memorial Park to commemorate the 70 million plus Russian Christians who have been slaughtered by the Mongols who styled themselves "Russian" bolsheviks, since 1917.
- d) A Wounded Knee Memorial Park for all the Sioux.
- e) A Mai Lai Memorial Park.
- f) A Japanese-American Internment Memorial Park.

Surely Americans of Armenian, Irish, Russian, Sioux, Vietnamese and Japanese ancestry have a right to have their history memorialized by a 27 acre section of some Denver park by the city since there are certainly Americans of such descent living in and paying taxes to the Denver government.

The reason that these "survivors" in the U.S. always get their largesse is simply because they scream and shout so much and all the rest of us simply stay silent and apathetic.

H.R. MacDonough, M.D.

ZIONISM'S VESTED INTEREST

Enclosed are two letters to the editor of the Los Angeles Times which are almost identical. Also, the local talkshow hostess was delighted to tell the audience about Johnson's ruling. She reluctantly let me make a few points before she cut me off.

The article "Holocaust Given Legal Recognition" (Los Angeles Times 10 Oct) raises several important questions:

Is it now illegal—punishable by fine, imprisonment, or both—to doubt the reality of the "Holocaust"?

Given the fact that there has been considerable evolution, mutation, and contradiction in the "Holocaust" story, what is the "legal" version?

In recent years we've witnessed the judiciary extending their purview beyond mere interpretation of law. It has played a major role in determining public—especially social—policy. Is the precedent now set for judicial involvement in all questions of history? Are we moving toward total thought control?

I should like to recall for the benefit of the academic and legal folks that Judge Johnson based his decision on: "Any number of sources. Many books. Sources of reasonably undisputed accuracy." When requested to name these or produce them he impatiently refused to do so. Traditionally, judges rule on the admissibility of evidence; Judge Johnson seems to have developed a disdain for it.

I'm sure you've thought about this, but what would happen if Johnson ruled the other way? Could we trashcan the Nuremberg Trials? Would the billions in German "reparations" have to be paid back? Would the wrongfully accused and convicted immigrant American citizens be exonerated, repatriated and recompensed? How about all the perjury convictions (for Rabbis, too)? Rascals and thugs like Wiesenthal, Mermelstein, etc., etc., would be exposed for what they are. I believe if the judge had even refused to rule (if he couldn't give a fair ruling—it would take real character), it would have been the end of Zionism. I sure hope there will be an appeal.

Paul G. Smith

MAKING IT ALL SIMPLER

I read your Fall, 1981 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

The article on "Cremator Hours and Incineration Time" was quite fascinating, as was the one by Staglich on West German Justice.

However, and I submit this in all kindness, is it not probable that such arguments could be presented with less words?

I suggest that many readers would simply give up because of many statements, all arriving at the same conclusion, repeated over and over.

Other patriots have pointed out the inability of our younger generation to read because of the deliberately created chaos called "our educational system." I think they are right. It also follows that writing for purposes of informing the public should be directed at the intelligent American who has less ability to understand words than his grandfather had instead of being directed to the IQ genius in the top 1/10th of 1% of the population.

I realize you feel your arguments should be presented in a "scholarly" fashion. However, "scholarly" arguments reach a microscopic proportion of the population today.

Pastor Sheldon Emry

MORAL SUPPORT

I have read your publications on the Holocaust debate and agree to the fullest extent with the experts' findings of facts on this subject.

It pains me as a German-American to see the effect today of this monumental falsification of history on relations between the U.S. and Germany and also in our own relations as naturalized citizens with the Jewish portion of the U.S. population. I believe that never in the history of all mankind has such an infamous and calculated monstrosity of whole-sale falsification of history been perpetrated on such a scale. It is equally sad for me to see that there seems no end to this.

I should like to compliment the authors of your articles for their efforts and at the same time commend them all for their courage in the face of an overwhelmingly hostile press, public and academic community. It takes true courage to stand up and be counted in the light of such odds.

Hermann A. Gerke

WE'RE BLUSHING

Since "The Donation of Constantine" has a force ever been so badly outnumbered, or faced so ruthless a foe, or fought for such lofty goals? Much more is at stake here than mere academic truth. The consequences of stifling the truth are nothing less than the world's economy in tatters, nuclear disaster hovering on all sides, and the rudderless West turning in circles.

Yours is surely the bravest, loneliest, most perilous fight imaginable in these times...and the most important. Have no illusions: the wider you pry open the shutters, the greater your personal peril. The loss of your livelihoods and even of your lives may serve as tragic proof that the Institute is beginning to make a difference. I salute you for braving death itself so that the truth may live.

My enclosed book order is a poor token of my heartfelt respect and encouragement for your work. As circumstances permit, I will follow this with more tangible help and support. In the meanwhile, please accept token orders and mere words for the debt of thanks that the West owes you.

Dr. R.H. Fischer

National Broadcasting Company, Inc.
NBC Morning Show Editor
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10020

16 December 1981

Yesterday morning a Phil Donahue segment was broadcast with his guests Mel Mermelstein and William Cox.

We take serious issue with what both Messrs. Mermelstein and Cox asserted as true.

Erroneous statements were made that we're sure gave the majority of your viewers a drastically distorted and even false picture of the work of our institute, any affiliations it may or may not have, and the nature of the controversy surrounding the lawsuit (*Mermelstein vs. IHR et al*) and the Holocaust in general.

We would like an opportunity to respond to the claims made by these two gentlemen.

Mr. Donahue had a copy of Dr. A.R. Butz' book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* which he presented and on which he based some of his questions to his guests. The Institute for Historical Review is the publisher of that book in the U.S.A. and we insist that your viewers were given a false impression as to the nature, purpose and scope of the book by the answers to Mr. Donahue's questions.

Therefore, Dr. Butz and I would like the opportunity to present our positions with respect to the statements made by Messrs. Mermelstein and Cox on an equal-time basis, on the same program with Mr. Donahue.

I trust you will consider this request in pursuit of a balanced presentation of all significant views on an issue at controversy.

Thomas J. Marcellus,
Director
Institute for Historical Review

Errata

Due to an unexpected hospitalization a number of errors, mainly in the indexing of references, appeared in "The Problem of Cremator Hours and Incineration Time" (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 2, #3, Fall 1981). I wish to apologize to the reader and submit herewith a list of corrections. Text and calculations remain unaffected by these corrections.

Dr. Reinhard K. Buchner
Westminster, CA 14 September 1981

p219, ref. 3 (page 103) should read (page 23); p229, ref. 13 (page 60) should read (page 152); p230, ref. (D. Felderer 11, W. Staglich 16) should read (D. Felderer 16, W. Staglich 11); p237, ref. 11 (. . . incineration times today.) add (page 75); p238, ref. 19 (page 181) should read (page 214); p240, ref. 19 (page 177) should read (page 210); p241, ref. 19 (page 177) should read (page 210); p242, ref. 22 (page 27) should read (page 236); p248, 20) Emil Aretz . . . 1979 should read 1970; p228, The quote taken from Reitlinger 8 "The camp was open for business on 14 January 1940" (page 110) should read " . . . on 14 June 1940" (page 110).

* * *

Belated but grateful acknowledgement is hereby extended to League Review, 9/11 Kensington High St., London W8 5NP, for the following articles:

"Fire in the Reichstag," by Peter Wainwright (*The JHR*, Summer 1981).
"The Enigma of Lawrence," by Desmond Hansen (*The JHR*, Fall 1981).

Peacetime Registration for Conscription—Forty Years Ago

DR. JAMES J. MARTIN

On 16 October 1940 male residents of the United States between the ages of 18 and 35 registered nation-wide for possible induction into the armed services of the country. It was the first machinery for the introduction of peacetime conscription in the country's history, being the operational consequence of an act of Congress signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt a month earlier. It represented one of the visible results of a five-month attack on the sensibilities of the American public conducted by one of the best-financed and most thoroughly organized propaganda machines the land had ever known. It grew directly out of a wave of hysteria which swept the Eastern seaboard, in particular, following the disastrous fortunes of the French and British war parties in the military campaigns in the spring of 1940, when a hundred thousand German specialists overcame a massive Franco-British (largely conscript) army in a few weeks of May and June.

The German invasion of Poland early in September 1939 was followed by declarations of war on Germany by Britain and France, formally launching the Second World War. The swift termination of the Polish campaign was followed by several attempts to negotiate a peace, all of which were rejected by Britain and France (though there was little belligerent action taking place during these late months of 1939 and early months of 1940). But late March and early April 1940 indicated that the war was about to be spread the rest of the way across the Atlantic seaboard of Western Europe. As this began to happen, followed by new Anglo-French setbacks among their small buffer state allies, concern for the survival of the 1919-39 status quo began to

grow in the U.S.A. among the Eastern financial and industrial-commercial circles long entwined with their counterparts in Britain and France. The muscle, brains and money of the American North Atlantic Francophile and Anglophile traditionalists were not long in being mobilized a second time in support for this dying old order in Western Europe. Several programs began to enlist support, including drives for the supply of goods, money, military and naval hardware, and related matters. This was the short range aspect. The eventual supply of armed men was a more long range one, and the impulse to introduce conscription, originally announced as intended for service in the Western Hemisphere only, was the form in which this was expressed.

On 4 April 1940 the symbol of the British war party, Winston Churchill, assumed direction over what was euphemistically described as Britain's "defense program." Five days later the Germans frustrated a British effort to spread the war by pre-emptively occupying Denmark and Norway, and the effect in America was the unloosing of a surge of confused perturbation. The beneficiaries of the corrupt system installed in 1919 clearly saw that it would never survive without massive American support.

On 29 April 1940 there occurred a famous "secret" meeting in the offices of Lawyer Frederic R. Coudert, British legal advisor in the U.S.A. between 1915 and 1920. Among those attending were Thomas W. Lamont, probably the most influential alumnus of Harvard College, and a partner in the banking house of J.P. Morgan and Co., the firm which had the lion's share of the American investment in British victory in the war of 1917-1918. Also there were Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University and a ferocious warrior Anglophile, Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State under President Herbert Hoover (Republican) and soon to be Secretary of War under Roosevelt (Democrat), as well as Lewis Douglas, former Budget Director under the latter. In this prestigious and affluent company there was plotted out a number of dramatic and far-ranging changes in the United States' relations with the countries at war in western Europe, as well as momentous alterations in the way of life at home. (This famous secret meeting was leaked very soon, and was the subject of wide commentary at that

time; probably the most succinct account and what it portended was by Sen. D. Worth Clark, "The Men Behind Our War Scare," *Scribners' Commentator*, August 1940.)

The Harvard establishment serving as the advance attack in gearing American public opinion for war and conscription had hardly begun. On 17-19 May 1940 the Associated Harvard Clubs met in New York City, presided over by Lamont. Here, 34 members of the Class of 1917 drafted a subtly-worded letter addressed to the current Harvard class by way of the undergraduate newspaper, the *Crimson*, unbraiding the young men for their "lack of moral responsibility" in refusing to go along with the war drive. A similar blast came from Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress. MacLeish, an anti-war activist par excellence in 1935, and Robert Sherwood, the writer of a famous pacifist play, *Idiot's Delight*, in 1936, had become belligerent literary warriors by now, effecting a stunning pirouette à deux in enlisting in the brigades of the Administration's typewriter hussars.

Two days later (21 May 1940) the Harvard Alumni Bulletin printed in support of the hawkish contingent a letter which had appeared in the *New York Times* three days earlier, written by Grenville Clark, an opulent New York attorney and member of the Harvard Corporation, which contained a similar program to that which had originated in the famed 29 April hush-hush meeting. Clark, among other things, advocated a drafted army of 3,000,000 men. He reiterated this call in several subsequent public speeches, and in one which he delivered prior to that time, at a dinner in New York City on 8 May.

Continued student skepticism of the fright talk and suggestions that the U.S.A. was about to be invaded by German armies after finishing off France and Britain, drew other attacks. On Harvard Class Day, 18 June 1940, a Boston bond-broker denounced what he termed the "cowardice" of the undergraduates. And two days after that, James B. Conant, president of Harvard and an enthusiastic warrior as well (he was to become High Commissioner of occupied Germany about five years later), expressed deep regret over what he viewed as America's "creeping paralysis of our loyalties," by which he meant, presumably, to Britain's

war party. Conant's was one of a number of general attacks on the alleged "moral" weakness of the nation's young men, in which Lamont voiced agreement. But nothing was said about "morality" when it came to Lamont's friend and fellow Harvard alumnus, Richard Whitney, of the New York Stock Exchange, who had just previously been convicted and sent to prison.

On 7 June 1940 the lead New York Times editorial came out for immediate conscription. It was obvious Pres. Roosevelt and his aides were for it, but Congress, especially the House, did not favor action that fast. However, two weeks later (20 June) the conscription bill was introduced in the Senate. The first draft, which contemporaries such as Paul Mallon insisted had much of the handiwork of Grenville Clark and Julius Ochs Adler of the New York Times in it, originally called for registering all men between the ages of 18 and 65 (some forty-two million), and paying those who were to be selected from this number (an expected 7,000,000) the princely pay of \$5 a month while in service. Grenville Clark, who functioned prominently in the Paramount Pictures Corporation reorganization, had just presented a bill for \$957,000 for his services (see Thurman Arnold, *The Folklore of Capitalism*) a sum equivalent to several millions of dollars in 1981 purchasing power.*

In actuality, military service from this immense number does not seem to have been the desired goal of Roosevelt, despite the vociferous championing from Clark and Adler, as well as a large contingent of others such as Conant, Lamont, Stimson, W.J. "Wild Bill" Donovan (who was to be the first chief of the ancestor of the CIA, the Office of Strategic Services, or OSS), and others in the club reflected in Who's Who and the Social Register urging the adoption of this mobilization of cannon fodder for the support of Britain's war Tories. Roosevelt had in mind a universal service bill, a kind of majestic combination of all his projected agencies for mobilizing all the youth of both sexes into one or two years of "national service." He got instead the Burke-Wadsworth Bill.

The drive to install conscription, though highly desired by the Roosevelt regime, was a bi-partisan one, as was the resistance to it. The U.S.A. all through the late 1930s really

developed a war party and an anti-war party, both of which crossed over all ideological lines. A left-to-right spectrum grew on both sides of the struggle. An example is seen in the conscription bill itself, jointly sponsored by an anti-New Deal Democrat in the Senate, Edward R. Burke of Nebraska, defeated in the primaries and therefore not a candidate for re-election in the coming 1940 election, and a conservative Republican in the House of Representatives, James W. Wadsworth, from upstate New York, a long-time outspoken supporter of conscription since 1919. That such a pair could be found to put their names to a measure in support of the Administration's plans for the American future tells us much about the nature of the "two party system."

But contemporaries observing the affair pointed out that neither man had much of anything to do with the bill itself. The widely syndicated columnist Paul Mallon 7 Aug 1940 pointed out that the actual bill was a product of the Military Training Camps Association of New York, consisting of businessmen, attorneys and reserve officers, and showed the construction efforts of several persons, including Grenville Clark, Adler, the general manager of the New York Times, Col Donovan, Conant, and attorney Elihu Root, Jr., son of a former Republican Secretary of State. The bill contained among other things a 200-word sentence, a masterpiece of legalistic confused botchery, but which provided for the prosecution of "anyone who in any manner shall knowingly fail or neglect to perform any duty required of him or in the execution of this act." While violation of the conscription act of 1917 was just a misdemeanor, violation of this new one was a felony, to be punished upon conviction by a possible five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. So, despite Roosevelt's hope to obtain a law which could be used to turn the armed forces into a gigantic welfare agency, he was being proffered a ferocious scheme to facilitate a level of militarism in the land utterly beyond comparison with any ever seen in the country previously.

On 25 July 1940 the bill was reported out of committee, and on the 31st, debate began in the Senate. At once, those Senators traditionally associated with the Populist-Progressive tradition took to the floor in bitter opposition, crossing the party lines in generous numbers. Based mainly in the

Midwest and High Plains states, they had substantial support from many other areas, stretching from West Virginia to Washington state and California, aided by Administration adversaries among the Republicans who were not notably identified with this Populist-Progressive background. Particularly resistant to this draft bill were Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, George Norris of Nebraska, Rush Holt of West Virginia, Ernest Lundein and Gerald P. Nye of the Dakotas, Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, Arthur Capper of Kansas, Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, Edwin Johnson of Colorado, Hiram Johnson of California, and Homer Bone of Washington. But a substantial number of others were to ally themselves in the ensuing weeks of debate, and a roll call of all would occupy a lot of space: Walsh, Maloney, Tydings, Tobey, Lodge, Bridges, Reynolds, Danaher, Gillette of Iowa, Ashurst of Arizona, McCarran of Nevada, Frazier, Downey, Barbour, Overton, Townsend, to be joined by such powerful figures in the Republican conservative fold as Robert A. Taft of Ohio and Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, both of whom were as bitterly opposed to the draft bill as Wheeler and Norris. In the House there were also formidable adversaries, including such as Hamilton Fish, Lewis Ludlow, Martin Dies, Joseph Martin of Massachusetts, and William Lemke, a stalwart of Midwest Populist farm loyalties and a particularly feared personality by the growing band of totalitarian liberals.

Wheeler was probably the most vigorous of the enemies of this bill, and earned himself the deep and unforgiving hostility of the Administration. His opposition began within days after the Burke-Wadsworth bill was introduced, well before debate began. Said Sen. Wheeler on 25 June 1940, speaking of the panic propaganda which accompanied its introduction: "I don't believe in any emergency. The only emergency is that conjured up in the minds of a few people who want to see us go to war and send our youth to Asia and Europe."

The list of the nationally-prominent people in opposition to the conscription bill is a very lengthy one, and grew during the Senate hearings in August. The Administration's supporters included a bi-partisan core of supporters of conscription with pedigrees extending back for 25 years,

many of them not from Roosevelt's own party. The journalistic lineup nationally was about 50-50, and probably was typified by the likes of Walter Lippmann among the pros and H.L. Mencken representing the antis. (Lippmann in the previous World War had enthusiastically recommended the draft to President Woodrow Wilson also, though a recent biographer points out that after its establishment as law in 1917, Lippmann was one of the very first to seek exemption from it.) Mencken in his 4 August 1940 piece in the Baltimore Sun, "Quick Step to War," thought many New Dealers were losing their enthusiasm of the spring and early summer for conscription, but that it had now become part of the offensive aimed at electing FDR for the third time, also upcoming. Nevertheless, enormous pressure was being put on people everywhere to go along with the effort to sell it. Pro-draft elements scared many from signing anti-conscription petitions, and the attitude among so many college faculties was so fiercely pro-conscription that most of their young male students grew inhibited and passive. Time magazine bellowed all through the hearings as though the bill had already been passed, and the rigged Fortune and Gallup polls showed increasing numbers favoring it. But some Senators, like Wheeler and Vandenberg, reported receiving many thousands of letters opposing the draft in July and August 1940. And the senatorial speeches against the Burke-Wadsworth bill got hotter. Wheeler on 10 August wanted the Administration to submit the question to a popular referendum: "If the proponents of conscription feel it is necessary to have the draft to save our democracy," Wheeler mocked their rhetoric, "they ought to be willing to submit the question to the people." But Wheeler knew full well Roosevelt did not dare to do that. He fully remembered two years before when the referendum proposed by Rep. Lewis Ludlow, which would have required a favorable national referendum before a war declaration, had been narrowly defeated by the application of incredible political pressure.

Others in the Senate added similar opposition. Walsh on 20 Aug insisted, "until voluntary enlistments on a fair basis had been tried, and there is evidence of a real need, I am not disposed to embrace, in peace time, the power of the

government to conscript." Hiram Johnson, who probably represented best on the Pacific Coast the anti-militarist strain in the Populist-Progressive impulse, denounced the draft bill as "a menace to our liberties," and others publicized the recently-republicized attack on the conscription drive of 125 years earlier, by Daniel Webster, in Charles A. Beard's recently-published *Rise of American Civilization*.

Sobered, the Senate Military Affairs Committee whittled down some of the dimensions of the proposed bill, especially in the age brackets contemplated for registration, as well as some of the language it contained. But Roosevelt importuned prestigious Army and Navy officers to testify against dependence on voluntary enlistment and in favor of conscription, including his compliant Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall. And Marshall's new superior, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, probably earned first place in the hysteria steeplechase in August 1940 when he claimed the country was in grave danger of invasion by the German armies while stubbornly holding out for conscription of "the whole manpower of the United States from 18 to 64." But early in August the Senate committee in its seventh draft of the bill sharply cut the total number of possible registrants. Roosevelt himself was extremely wary about making a public statement in support of conscription, knowing what political dynamite it was, though he did issue a mild endorsement of "selective training" 2 August. The bill was supposed to be reported for a vote on 5 August. It was delayed until the 9th, and then it was announced that more hearings would be held instead. On the 14th, the Senate was considered to be about equally divided on the bill's merits, after a 3-hour speech the previous day by Sen. Wheeler, in which he once more applied a satirical approach to the pro-draft propagandists, remarking that if conscription was the "democratic" way, then Stalinist Russia and Hitlerite Germany were the great exemplars of "democracy," in view of their conscription programs. Sen. Taft also continued his vigorous vocal opposition.

Part of the reason for the Senate's wariness on the Burke-Wadsworth bill was the knowledge that the big labor union federations, the AFL and CIO, as well as the railroad brotherhoods, were against it, as well as the farmers' unions,

and many millions of religiously-affiliated, especially among the Catholics and the Baptists. The misleading aspect of the pro-draft propaganda was the attitude reflected in about half the newspapers, and the two main public opinion polls, which neglected to tell the U.S. public that the French, with 6,000,000 conscripts under arms in the spring of this very year, had been defeated in a few weeks by a small collection of about a hundred thousand German military specialists. But big ideas of national regimentation were loose, partially documented favorably by two Dartmouth College professors, Harold J. Tobin and Percy W. Bidwell, in their just-published book *Mobilizing Civilian America*, issued by the Council on Foreign Relations; the pro-universal service people did not wish to be distracted by adverse facts.

At the end of August, the Senate by only two votes defeated the Maloney amendment, which would have put off the draft act consideration until 1941, but a similar amendment proposed by Hamilton Fish passed in the House by 30 votes on 5 September. Eventually a compromise amendment was agreed upon, limiting the service of those conscripted under this bill to one year, and confining the period of service to the Western Hemisphere, and to U.S. possessions and territories which might be elsewhere.

Senator Edwin C. Johnson, on the floor of the Senate on 27 August, remarked that the Burke-Wadsworth bill was "an excellent device for procuring 'cannon fodder'" which expanded in a different dimension on his previous denunciation of the draft as "political militarism," "American democracy's enemy No. 1" (see A.A. Ekirch, Jr., *The Civilian and the Military* (1955, repr. 1972). But the bitter fight in the Congress ended a few days later, with the House voting 233-124 and the Senate 47-25 for the much-amended and changed Selective Service bill. Undoubtedly a sizeable number of these people voted against the wishes of a plurality of their constituents at home in doing so.

Roosevelt signed the bill on 16 September and a month later there began the first peacetime registration of the country's men between the ages of 21 and 35, a far more restricted range than the ancient warriors like Secretary of War Stimson preferred and advocated. Those who registered, as skeptical and incredulous at the false alarms of

imminent national peril and the hyperthyroid hysteria of the Administration's mouthpieces as they were to be 40 years later, did in the main comply, but entirely without enthusiasm. The *Boston Herald* on 16 October 1940 burbled over the registration as a "triumph of deliberate democratic procedure," and praised the "far-sighted Grenville Clark of New York" as the author of the conscription law. "The response of free men," oozed *Time*; but in view of the fierce penalties for defying the draft act, compliance was anything but.

Somewhat more bogus was Congress' prompt gesture of "conscripting industry," a hasty action intended to tax the "windfall profits" (where have we heard that line recently?) of the many armament manufacturers and the allied firms making products going into the gigantic "defense" effort. This was especially denounced by Sens. La Follette and Vandenberg. But it was a sop thrown to the parents of the coming draftees, seeking to comfort them that their sons would not be bearing the burden of "defense" alone.

Despite the feverish and hectic promotional hectoring of the likes of Secretary of War Stimson, for example, aided by others of the same class of exponents for conscription for past decades (Stimson was a strenuous advocate of it dating back to 1916), the operational aspect got started with all the speed of one wading through a pool of partially frozen molasses. There simply did not exist the training facilities for a large conscript army, and the arms available even to practice at soldiering were pathetic in quality and quantity. *Life* magazine for 9 December 1940 observed that the first draft call brought about the summoning of only 18,700 men, hardly the myriads the hysterical proponents believed we needed six months before.

Furthermore, the failure of the re-elected Roosevelt after November 1940 to embroil the country any deeper in the European or the Pacific War led to a long season of plodding and stumbling on the home front, much of it communicated to the conscript army, which looked forward to the termination of their year of service. Panic again swept the interventionist fold, and a new drive to extend the draft built up in the summer of 1941. The most visible of those

arguing for this was the Chief of Staff, Gen. Marshall, who appeared over and over again to testify before Congress on the need to keep the draftees beyond the original stipulated period of service. The mood in the army camps grew tense, and threats of a mass desertion proliferated. The ominous acronym OHIO (Over the Hill in October) began to appear chalked on barracks walls, and a serious crisis was in full bloom by the time a galled and pressure-wracked House of Representatives voted, on 12 August 1941, by the majestic majority of just one, 203-202, to extend the period of service. There were 182 Democrats and 21 Republicans who voted for, 65 Democrats, 133 Republicans and 4 others voting against.

There is no doubt this close vote had a very sobering effect on the Administration, which frankly conceded several days before the final vote that they had a good chance of losing. But again it was pulled off by the same little group of Eastern power-brokers who had instigated the changes in the two American neutrality laws, started the campaign to elect Wendell Willkie (whose foreign policy was indistinguishable from Roosevelt's) and set up the two major committees which worked to get the U.S.A. involved in the European war. And Stimson was the symbolic figure of the whole campaign. (Senators Nye and Hiram Johnson had vociferously opposed the replacement of Secretary of War Harry Woodring with Stimson in July, and all August had charged the draft would become a real menace to American liberties with Stimson's arrival to this fateful post in the War Department.)

Roosevelt signed the draft extension bill on 18 August 1941, fully aware of the grave and dramatic split which had occurred in the country. But ten weeks later it was all washed out by the fortuitous attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese on 7 December 1941, an event which was known in a variety of ways to be coming, even though it became a rigid Administration position that it was utterly unexpected, posing as innocents set upon in a treacherous fashion. (There has long been a large literature which punches scores of big holes in this posture.) The attack on Hawaii was undoubtedly the most incredible windfall that ever befell any political regime in U.S. history, far exceeding the

Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in 1861 or the preludes to U.S. involvement in war in 1898 and 1917 as an assist in propelling onward a war-bound administration.

The immoderate administration of conscription was the primary cause of grave manpower and material shortage in the U.S. wartime economy, every draftee removed from the labor force being accompanied by two other men diverted into war instead of domestic production to keep him supplied. Some 14,000,000 ended up inducted into military and naval service, 1941-1945, 6,000,000 of whom never left continental United States, while many of the total drafted never were trained for what they were expected to do. The armed forces could have got along with half of this 14,000,000 total, thus in reality adding some 22,000,000 to the constructive economic labor force (7 million plus another 15 million whose work in war-related enterprises was a direct consequence of this bloated conscription program.) But war and the entire grandiose conscription epic brought to an end a previously insoluble unemployment problem, and the lesson was not lost on subsequent administrations, which have off and on used the American armed forces as a glorified social welfare agency.

Conscription also accompanied a season of wars and American military expansion all around the world involving many scores of bases whose staffing took the issue off the agenda in the U.S.A. for over a generation. Suspended for a brief interlude recently, the subject is making a strong attempt to return to its decades of institutionalized status between the '40s and the '70s. But it will need a far more persuasive promotion than it has recently been getting to insure anything of that nature. Whatever may be the state of world tensions, the events of the last dozen years in particular do not provide a very compelling backdrop for a new appeal to submit to universal selective service in the United States.

*The \$957,000 bill was for the efforts of those of Clark's legal firm who had worked on the Paramount account, including himself. His was the most persuasive argument for the award of this fee, made before Judge Alfred C. Coxe. *New York Times*, July 19, 1935, p. 12. The court eventually adjusted the final charge slightly downward.

On the Uses of History

WILLIS A. CARTO

(Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference)

I suppose that one can become rather pessimistic and discouraged at the way the objective truth is distorted and hidden for the purposes of political and economic interests, but there is a profound lesson to be learned from the fact that it is, and there is no reason for discouragement if we learn from the muse of History how she has been persecuted and kicked around during her eternal life.

Distortion of history, when taken in a historical context, is certainly not a new or even a recent phenomenon; it is as old as language itself. As Spengler and Yockey and many others make very clear, there is no definite border and never has been between history-as-fact and history-as-myth. Indeed, where one stops and the other begins is quite impossible to determine in most cases.

Today, it is easy for us to believe, as 20th Century Americans, that the islands of Japan were not really formed by drops from the sword of the sun god, but note this: we are far more likely to reject this belief not because it is inherently preposterous but because it is Japanese and we are not.

In other words, it is our culture which conditions our minds to accept or reject facts as either history or as myth, and for the most part not the objective facts themselves, and if you have any difficulty with this concept think on the discovery of the golden tablets by Joseph Smith, the miracle of Fatima or even the virgin birth of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. As Christians, we have our share of historical facts which are open to doubt by others.

In the light of the needs of culture, we can plainly see that history-as-myth is not necessarily an evil in itself. The historical purpose of culture is to provide unity to a people, for with unity comes stability, order and perhaps progress. It is essential for a people to agree on an interpretation of the past, and the interpretation obviously must denote them as admirable, not despicable; superior, not inferior; noble and courageous, not ignoble and cowardly. History must be the mirror image of oneself. When it is not, it has been distorted. Thus, from the twin needs of having a history and making it a good one, myths are born. It is a process as ancient as language itself.

So we can see that historical distortion grows out of the needs of culture itself. We can perhaps excuse the Japanese myth of the origin of Japan as a harmless tale and one which—in conjunction with a whole panopoly of other myths—formed the basis for the development of the Japanese people and the flowering of one of the world's magnificent cultures. For better or worse, Japanese historical myths helped create Japan, just as Christian and Jewish myths helped create the Europe and the America we know. The point is, we must judge historical myth by judging its historical products, not by its content of objective fact. Which is another way of saying that historical lies are the norm.

Now that we have made that point, please note that we have not said, and we do not say that lies in themselves are all that is found in history. What we find is a mixture of lie and fact. For example, we know the objective fact that Abraham Lincoln is dead. To look a little closer we have reason to believe that he was shot at close range in Ford's Theatre on the night of April 14, 1865 by John Wilkes Booth. This much we know. We think.

It is what we don't know that concerns revisionist scholars. The orthodox interpretation of this event is that Booth was an unreconstructed Southerner who avenged the defeat of the Confederacy. Perhaps this is so, but there has been a century of speculation as to who else may have been involved and—most important of all—what the real motive may have been, if indeed there was another motive other than Booth's uncomplicated hatred.

For the purpose of democracy, it is well that Booth remain a "lone assassin"—and you have heard that phrase before. Thus, a more pointed interpretation of the deed does not excite much interest in the Establishment, other than permitting idle speculation that Booth was not killed by his pursuers but lived out his life robbing trains under the pseudonym of Jesse James.

Now it is not really significant to our destiny whether Jesse James was or was not John Wilkes Booth. Such trivia makes good books and movies and story-telling because it is meant to amuse rather than instruct. The question enters into the mythical, and

on the harmless side of the ledger, for myths may be either harmful or harmless or even beneficial. The question of Booth's true identity is the sort of specious issue useful to amuse Hollywood producers, cartoonists and Establishment historians but it is totally without significance when we consider the more weighty motives which may have figured in the event.

It has been whispered for many years that the Lincoln assassination resulted in profits of billions to bankers who were determined that Lincoln's wartime issuance of Greenbacks—paper money issued by the government at the cost of no interest to the taxpayers rather than banknotes issued by private banks at interest—be not made into a national habit—a habit which would have cost the bankers not only in terms of monetary profit but their control of government economic and political policy. I say "whispered" because the quantity of books which ask questions like these, in comparison to the volume of books which fail to ask such questions, thanks to establishment prejudice, is infinitesimal.

Now here is the point to all this. An interpretation of history which gives proper weight to the sub-rosa role of the bankers in public affairs is completely incompatible with our present so-called "democratic" system, which is, in its essence, simply the rule of a consensus of minority, special-interest pressure groups, certainly not rule of the people, by the people and for the people, and the bankers play a central role in this coalition. Thus, the "lone assassin" myth fits democracy and the "conspiracy" or "banker" myth fits populism, but we may never know which interpretation is the objective truth, or if there is some other interpretation which is the objective truth. For example, in the eyes of abolitionist, or "liberal" Republicans, Lincoln was an obstacle to Reconstruction. In the eyes of communists, the assassination of Lincoln was perhaps the work of Northern industrialists who saw Lincoln as an obstacle to their plan of lowering the wages of the workers. The uses of history are endless.

The most pervasive and harmful myth today, of course, is that of the so-called "Holocaust," and all of its attendant fables. Thanks to the research of a small number of very courageous men who have literally risked their careers and their lives to document the truth, our insight not merely into World War II, its causes, its events and its outcome has been enhanced but more: our *weltanschauung* of today stands in stark variance to the world view of others not so enlightened as we. The Holocaust Myth has benefited its propagators as has few lies in history. We taxpayers in Western nations have shipped untold billions to Israel because of this myth. The myth-makers have profited but not those who have been and are being victimized by it. Aside from the monetary burden, an even more important problem is

the pervasive danger of nuclear war, because we are militarily involved in the Mideast only to protect Israel. Perhaps in this illustration we can see how lies cause war, because the guilt for a nuclear conflict in the Mideast will fall exclusively on those who are at this time profiting from their lie of the "Holocaust."

How does the Institute for Historical Review fit into this scenario? Our place is certain. There is a vacuum in historical scholarship which needs to be filled and this is what we are doing. We see history as part of our Western culture, not as a political weapon for minority zealots, not as a rallying cry for ambitious politicians, armament manufacturers and warmongers, nor from an ivory tower—a segregated, disjointed compartment of arcane knowledge. We are here to see that those who wish to use history to serve their own selfish ends are put down by scholarly research, for we believe that the best, the most useful and most permanent historical myths are founded on facts, not lies.

As Revisionists, we clearly perceive how our work is of absolutely fundamental importance. The lies of the past are rapidly turning our world into a jungle, even as our scientists and technicians are opening up an infinitely expanded world of possibility. The gulf between our corrupt and putrefying Establishment and our physical science now measures in light years, and the speed they are receding from each other is increasing. But it is this which gives us the promise and the certainty that the future holds unconditional victory for us, because in the war between a corrupt and dying social system and technology, technology must inevitably win. The dying of diseased and retarded social systems are the very stuff of history; it has happened a thousand times; whereas the momentum of technological progress is now so powerful, so irresistible that nothing can contain it.

In this sense, we Revisionists are doing far more than merely "setting the past aright," as they say; we are doing more than serving as straight men for the media; more than physically defending the First Amendment with our bodies; more than educating the educationists; even more than just telling the truth. We are literally building a foundation of fact for the future—a future which will be based on constructive, not destructive myths; on a body of morality and social mores and constraints based on what is good for the people of the West rather than what is good for minority pressure groups, bankers, distortionist ideologies or alien interests.

The uses of history are many and various. Our job, as I understand it, is to see that it is used responsibly and constructively.

Declaration of Mark Edward Weber

Introduction

On October 9, 1981, California Superior Court Judge Thomas T. Johnson, took "judicial notice" of the fact that "Jews were gassed to death at Auschwitz concentration Camp in Poland during the summer of 1944." Johnson's ruling was made in response to a Motion for "Judicial Notice" that had been made by plaintiff Mel Mermelstein in his law suit against the Institute for Historical Review.¹ Normally, parties to a legal dispute are permitted to introduce factual evidence to support their respective claims within the guidelines of evidentiary rules, which in California have been codified by the State legislature as the *California Evidence Code*. However, in order to avoid wasting the time of the court in proving the "obvious," the doctrine of the "judicial notice" has been developed whereby certain matters can be assumed to be factually true by the court and, thus, do not have to be proven through the introduction of evidence. In other words, where judicial notice is taken, no evidence needs to be introduced to prove the existence of the fact in question.²

In California, the doctrine of "permissive" judicial notice is set forth in *Evidence Code §452* which states that:

"Judicial notice may be taken of the following matters. . .:
"(h) Facts and propositions that are not reasonably subject to dispute and are capable of immediate and accurate determination by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy."
As the language of *Evidence Code §452(h)* suggests, a fact may be judicially noticed only if it is not reasonably subject to dispute, and is capable of immediate and accurate verification by re-

sorting to an authority of indisputable accuracy.

In an attempt to convince Judge Johnson that the contention of Mr. Mermelstein that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz is both "disputable" and is not subject to "immediate verification" by resorting to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy, the IHR asked Mark Edward Weber, an author and historical researcher, to summarize, in the form of a declaration, the historical controversy that surrounds the alleged Jewish genocide during World War II. That declaration, which was filed in the Superior Court for consideration by Judge Johnson, is reproduced below. In spite of the efforts of Mr. Weber, Judge Johnson granted Mermelstein's motion; he was persuaded to do so, not because of any of the material which Mr. Mermelstein had submitted in support of his position, but rather due to certain unspecified "sources of reasonably indisputable fact." When asked by Richard Fusilier, the attorney representing the IHR, to name those sources, Johnson refused to do so and merely said, "Any number of sources. Many books. Sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy." This refusal of Judge Johnson to specify the source of the information upon which he based his ruling is, of itself, an abuse of judicial discretion. According to Evidence Code §455, if a judge resorts to any source of information that has not been received in open court in connection with the taking of judicial notice of any matter, that judge must, before he may take judicial notice, make such information and its source a part of the record in the action and must afford each party a reasonable opportunity to dispute such information.

A reading of Mr. Weber's declaration clearly demonstrates that the genocide claims of Mr. Mermelstein are hardly "indisputable" and are certainly not subject to "immediate and accurate verification" by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy. As a consequence, those facts cannot be judicially noticed.³ In view of this conclusion, one is justified in wondering exactly what evidence influenced Judge Johnson and persuaded him to rule as he did. Mr. Fusilier speculated that his ruling was a "political" decision that had no evidentiary basis. If so, Judge Johnson's ruling is a chilling reminder of George Orwell's novel, 1984, where history is constantly rewritten to satisfy contemporary political demands. After all, here is a judge who has put historical truth into the "memory hole" and has established new history by judicial fiat.

The Declaration

My name is Mark Weber. I was born in Portland, Oregon, and now reside in the Washington, D.C., area where I work as a writer, historical researcher and translator. I studied at Portland State University, the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, the University of Munich, and Indiana University. During the two and a half years I lived and studied in Germany, I became very familiar with the German language. In 1976, I graduated with high honors with a B.A. from Portland State University. I received a Master's degree in Central European history in 1977 from Indiana University, where I also served as an instructor.

My special field of competence is modern European history. For the past two and a half years I have been deeply involved in a careful study of the history of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War, and I am currently working on a book on this subject.

I was asked to carefully examine the material submitted by the attorney for Mr. Melvin Mermelstein in support of plaintiff's request that the court take judicial notice of the contention that Jews were killed by gassing at Auschwitz during the Second World War. On the basis of a careful examination of this material, and on the basis of my own specialized study of the history of the Jews during the Second World War, I firmly believe that sufficient grounds do **not** exist to have the court take judicial notice of the contention that Jews were killed by gassing at Auschwitz.

Counsel for plaintiff attempts, by presenting an extensive collection of material taken from published sources and unpublished statements by individuals, to convince the court that the proposition that Jews were killed by gassing at Auschwitz during the Second World War is an obvious historical fact worthy of judicial notice.

A proposition cannot be proven merely by assembling an extensive collection of material in its support. The character of the evidence is decisive, not its magnitude. The evidence must be reliable, self-consistent and accurate.

For example, numerous affidavits and statements from "eyewitnesses," as well as extensive published material from books could be presented in support of the proposition that "flying saucers" piloted by alien beings from other planets have landed on earth, and that humans have communicated and traveled with the aliens. But such evidence, while very extensive, would not be sufficient to have a court take judicial notice of the existence of "flying saucers."

Judicial notice may be taken of a proposition that is so universally known that it cannot reasonably be the subject of dispute. (Evid. Code Sec. 451(h).)

Various scholars who have carefully examined the matter have concluded that no Jews were ever gassed at Auschwitz. As I will show, the evidence for gassings submitted by plaintiff in support of its proposition is unreliable, contradictory and, in some cases, demonstrably false. The contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz may reasonably be considered subject to dispute.

The argument over whether Jews were gassed at Auschwitz may have political implications. But the debate among scholars over this question is not political. That is, all political views are represented on both sides of the controversy. It is completely incorrect to characterize all those who dispute the gassing claims as "neo-Nazis."

In 1948, the French history teacher Paul Rassinier published the first of his six books challenging the standard view of the "holocaust." He was a pacifist and a socialist who was arrested by the Gestapo in German-occupied France for helping to smuggle Jews into neutral Switzerland. Rassinier was incarcerated for almost two years at the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dora. After the war, he was elected to the French National Assembly and decorated for his resistance activities.

Another noted "revisionist" was the eminent American historian, Harry Elmer Barnes, a man who detested political collectivism of any kind. In France today, the most active and vocal challengers of the orthodox view of the "holocaust" are affiliated with a Marxist-libertarian literary group.

The argument about whether Jews were gassed at Auschwitz transcends political affiliations. In America as well as Europe, respected scholars have taken reasoned exception to the standard version of "holocaust" history. This is not unusual. Historians frequently disagree sharply among themselves about aspects of history. Widely accepted historical "facts" often later turn out to be rather less than that.

Down through the ages, official bodies making pronouncements about "historical facts" have forced scholars holding unorthodox views to recant.

In 1543, Nicholas Copernicus published his famous work which declared that the earth revolved around the sun. The Catholic Church suppressed the work for centuries because it contradicted the official view that the earth is the center of the universe. In 1633, Galileo was jailed after being forced by the Inquisition to abjure his declaration that the sun is the center of the planetary system. In 1925, John T. Scopes was fined by a court in Tennessee for teaching the Darwinian theory of evolution in a public school

because it conflicted with the Biblical version of the origin of life. Today, in the Soviet Union, Poland, and other countries subordinate to the USSR, it is forbidden to state publicly that thousands of Polish officers were murdered by Soviet officials at Katyn in 1940.

Many countries, notably the communist states, oblige historians to conform to an official version of history. In our country, we have a long tradition of freedom of intellectual expression based on the notion that truth does not require judicial or official protection from challengers. Indeed, we Americans are proud of the fact that we tolerate and encourage diverse alternative and even controversial interpretations of history. To have a court take judicial notice of the disputed contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz would be an irresponsible violation of our tradition of intellectual freedom.

Not just the "gas chamber" issue, but the whole question of what actually happened to the Jews of Europe during the Second World War is the subject of growing controversy and dispute. In Germany, that debate became more intense following the appearance in 1978 of a massive 760-page work entitled *Geschichte der Deutschen* (History of the Germans), published by the prestigious Propylaeen publishing house.

The author, Dr. Helmut Diwald, had already made a name for himself as an eminent and highly respected senior professor of history at the University of Erlangen. His earlier works had been praised as well-written products of solid, scholastic workmanship. The fact that a man of Dr. Diwald's stature would challenge the standard version of "holocaust" historiography is especially significant.

The section of his book headed "The Final Solution" is worth quoting at length. (pp164-165 of the first edition.):

Ever since the charge was made that the SS attempted to physically annihilate the Jews of Europe, under orders from Hitler and as directed by Himmler and the Reich Security Main Office, the problem of "Auschwitz" has been completely blacked out. Since the capitulation in 1945, "Auschwitz" has also served as the main vehicle in a campaign to reduce the German people to complete moral degradation.

. . . Countless works have been published and claims made since 1945 which cannot be proven and which cynically add to the infamy. The most horrible events of modern times have been exploited through the use of distortions, deceptions and exaggerations for the purpose of totally disqualifying a people.

Thus, the victorious Allies claimed the existence of "extermination camps" of which there was not a single one in Germany. For years visitors to the Dachau concentration camp were shown "gas

chambers" where as many as 25,000 Jews were allegedly killed daily by the SS. Actually, the rooms displayed were dummy chambers which the U.S. military had forced imprisoned SS men to build after the capitulation. A similar case involved the notorious Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where 50,000 inmates were supposedly murdered. Actually, about 7,000 inmates died during the period when the camp existed, from 1943 to 1945. Most of them died in the last months of the war as a result of disease and malnutrition—consequences of the bombings which had completely disrupted normal deliveries of medical supplies and food. The British commander who took control of the camp after the capitulation testified that crimes on a large scale had not taken place at Bergen-Belsen.

The deportation of the Jews took place as part of a general forced-labor program for the war industry. After the beginning of the war against Russia, the German war economy grew from month to month and reached a high point in mid-1942. All those who could work at all were inducted, including the Jews. In accordance with their special status, they were subject to especially inhumane treatment. The enormous program for their deportation by railway from all the occupied territories for use in Eastern munitions factories and work camps was justified by the military importance of their tasks and received top priority, even ahead of army transport.

Auschwitz, an old industrial town on the upper Silesian plateau, developed into a major wartime production center. The chemical industry quickly became far more important than the older zinc rolling mills and grinding works. The most significant aspect was the production of artificial rubber and petroleum from coal. On 16 February 1942, all concentration camps were incorporated into the war economy and munitions industry and accordingly came under the organizational authority of the SS Main Office for Economic Administration and its chief, General Otto Pohl.

The various camps were classified according to their importance to the war economy. Birkenau, a part of the Auschwitz complex, served as the camp for those inmates who were declared unsuited for work. Consequently, the camp had the highest death rate. On 26 July 1942, a devastating typhus epidemic broke out in Birkenau. As many as 20,000 died within three months.

That is why an especially large number of crematoria for burning the bodies were built in Birkenau. Reports of the high death rate there moved Himmler to issue an order on 28 December 1942 "to reduce the number of deaths in the concentration camps at all costs."

During the war Jewish emigration was no longer possible and the expression "total solution" or "final solution" was coined to refer to the policy whereby all Jews were to be segregated from the German population, removed from central Europe, evacuated to the East, and relocated in new ghettos. This plan was outlined by

Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office on 24 June 1940. The central questions about what actually happened in the subsequent years still remain unclear despite all of the literature. "Auschwitz" is the German stigma of this century.

At the famous Nuremberg trials of the "International Military Tribunal" (IMT), impressive evidence was presented for the existence and operation of gas chambers at the concentration camps of Dachau and Ravensbrueck. A lengthy U.S. government report was accepted as IMT document L-159 (also known as 222-USA) which described how inmates at the Dachau camp were killed by gassing. (Document L-159 can be found in the International Military Tribunal "Blue Series", Vol. XXXVII, pp-605-626.)

Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, a French communist, testified at the Nuremberg trials about the killing of inmates in gas chambers at the Ravensbrueck concentration camp. (This "eyewitness" testimony can be found in the IMT "Blue Series," Vol. VI, pp224-225.) These are only two examples of many others that could be cited of legally binding "eyewitness" and "official" evidence for the existence and operation of gas chambers in Germany that helped convict and hang German defendants at the Nuremberg trials.

Simon Wiesenthal, the famous "Nazi hunter" admitted in a letter to the respected British periodical *Books & Bookmen* (April 1975, p5) that "there were no extermination camps on German soil. . ." Martin Broszat, Director of the Institute for History in Munich, stated in a letter to the German weekly newspaper *Die zeit* (19 August 1960, p16) that there had never been any gassings anywhere in the "old Reich," that is, Germany in its boundaries of 1937. The statements from these two men are cited here because each of them was called upon by plaintiff to provide written statements in this case. (Plaintiff Attachments Nos. 1 and 5). Similar statements could be produced from others whose sympathies are likewise entirely with the plaintiff. These admissions are important because they discredit the many "testimonies" of "eyewitnesses" which were cited for many years to "prove" that concentration camp inmates were killed in gas chambers at various camps in Germany proper, such as Dachau, Ravensbrueck, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, Oranienburg, and others.

For obvious reasons, the statements quoted above by Broszat and Wiesenthal have not been made widely known. That's because evidence for the existence of lethal gas chambers at Auschwitz is no more substantial than the evidence for gas chambers at camps where even Broszat, Wiesenthal and others now admit there were none. In the case of Auschwitz, as well as in the cases

of Dachau, Ravensbrueck, and so forth, the evidence that Jews were killed by gassing consists almost exclusively of "testimony" from "eyewitnesses." How is it that we are now expected to dismiss the "proofs" of gassings at camps in Germany proper as invalid while continuing to accept equally dubious "proofs" for gassings at Auschwitz?

An objective person would be justified in dismissing the claim for gassings at Auschwitz because they are just as baseless as those for camps where we now know that no gassings took place. Clearly, the claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz may reasonably be considered subject to dispute. A court would even be justified in stating that the claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz is questionable and dubious.

Attachment No. 5 submitted by the plaintiff consists of pages from the book KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS. From the section of the book taken from the diary of Johann Paul Kremer ("Diary of Kremer") plaintiff has submitted only a single sheet consisting of pages 212 and 213. On these two pages, there is only a single entry from Dr. Kremer's diary which could at all even be construed as referring to killings. That is the four line entry of 2 September 1942.

The entry, as submitted by the plaintiff, reads as follows:

Was present for first time at a special action at 3 a.m. By comparison Dante's Inferno seems almost a comedy. Auschwitz is justly called an extermination camp.

As written in the original German, the entry reads:

Zum 1. Male draussen um 3 Uhr frueh bei einer Sonderaktion zugegen. Im Vergleich hierzu erscheint mir das Dante'sche Inferno fast wie eine Komoedie. Umsonst wird Auschwitz nicht das Lager der Vernichtung genannt!

The correct translation of this entry should thus be:

This morning, at 3 o'clock, I was present outside for the first time at a special action. Compared to that, Dante's Inferno appears to me almost like a comedy. It is not without reason that Auschwitz is called the camp of the annihilation.

The original text is mistranslated and presented in such a way as to distort its original meaning. Dr. Kremer is not referring here to killing people by gassing. He is referring to an emergency assignment he was called to make in his capacity as a medical doctor to treat victims of disease. This becomes clear to anyone who carefully examines and studies the original diary. A detailed analysis is not possible here. However, the following quotation from a letter written by Dr. Kremer on 21 October 1942 to a Miss Glaser shows that when Kremer refers to Auschwitz as an in-

ferno or a "hell" he means that the outbreak of disease has created hellish conditions on the camp:

I don't really know for certain, but I expect, however, that I'll be able to be in Muenster before 1 December, and thus finally turn my back on this hell of Auschwitz where, in addition to the typhoid, and so on, typhus has once again broken out strongly...

The plaintiff submits testimony by Rudolf Hoess, a former Auschwitz commandant, as evidence for gassings at Auschwitz. (*KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS*, "Autobiography of Hoess," pp-132-136, Plaintiff Attachment No. 5). This testimony is probably the single most important piece of evidence for gassings at Auschwitz. It is widely quoted or cited in secondary historical books on the subject.

Actually, statements by Hoess are notoriously unreliable. A good example is the Hoess affidavit of 5 April 1946 (Nuremberg document 3868-PS). Hoess claims that three million persons died at Auschwitz, an absurd figure that no responsible historian accepts today. He claims that mass executions by gassing began in the summer of 1941, another absolutely absurd statement. He claims that, besides Auschwitz, "Belzec," "Treblinka," and "Wolzek" were extermination camps. Actually, no camp named "Wolzek" ever existed.

In his book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (pp100-124), Dr. Arthur Butz examines the Hoess affidavit of 5 April 1946 in great detail and carefully evaluates the testimony of Hoess, including the famous "Autobiography" in its relation to the gassing allegations. These pages are appended to this statement as Attachment No. 9.

The "Autobiography" cited by plaintiff was supposedly written while Hoess was a prisoner in communist-ruled Poland shortly before his execution. There is no way of determining the genuineness of the "Autobiography" although communist practice should compel any objective person to view the memoir with extreme skepticism.

A careful examination of the material submitted by plaintiff reveals serious contradictions in the details of plaintiff's claim. Consider, for example, these contradictory descriptions of the condition of the bodies of Auschwitz gassing victims immediately following the opening of the gas chamber doors.

From the "Autobiography of Hoess" in *KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS*, page 134 (Plaintiff Attachment No. 5):

The door was opened half an hour after the induction of the gas, and the ventilation switched on. Work was immediately begun on removing the corpses. There was no noticeable change in the bodies and no sign of convulsions or discoloration. Only after the

bodies had been lying for some time, that is to say after several hours, did the usual death stains appear in the places where they had lain. Soiling through the opening of the bowels was also rare. There were no signs of wounding of any kind. The faces showed no distortion.

From *Auschwitz: Nazi Extermination Camp*, published in 1978 by Interpress, Warsaw, p114. (Plaintiff Attachment No. 9):

Most of the corpses were found near the door through which the victims had tried to escape from the spreading gas. The corpses, which covered the entire floor of the chamber, had their knees half-bent, and were often cloven together. The bodies were smeared with excrement, vomit and blood. The skin assumed a pink hue.

Attachment No. 7 submitted by plaintiff is likewise unreliable and inaccurate. This attachment consists of pages copied from the book *The Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben* by Joseph Borkin. On page 126, for example, it is alleged that human fat from the corpses of Jews killed at Auschwitz was made into soap by the Germans.

The story that the Germans used Jewish corpses to make soap has been widely circulated. It was officially accepted at the Nuremberg trials where many "documents" and "testimonies" were introduced to substantiate the allegation. What was all this "evidence" really worth? Although many Jewish survivors and writers still propagate the soap story, no responsible historian accepts the allegation today.

Alarmed at the growing skepticism about the "holocaust," a Jewish historian recently warned about the dangers in repeating "holocaust" stories that have long since been proven to be lies. Deborah Lipstadt, a teacher of modern Jewish history at the University of California at Los Angeles stated in a letter to the Los Angeles Times of 16 May 1981:

The fact is that the Nazis never used the bodies of Jews, or for that matter anyone else, for the production of soap. The soap rumor was prevalent both during and after the war. It may have had its origin in the cadaver factory atrocity story that came out of World War I. . . . The soap rumor was thoroughly investigated after the war and proved to be untrue.

Actually, Deborah Lipstadt is not quite accurate. The soap rumor has never been "thoroughly investigated." To the contrary, the story was widely circulated as part of the official "historical verdict" of the Nuremberg trials. Once again, the "evidence" for gassing at Auschwitz is just as reliable as the "evidence" for the baseless allegation that the Germans used Jewish bodies to manufacture soap.

Plaintiff's submission of published material which repeats the soap story casts doubt on the reliability of the rest of the material submitted.

The plaintiff submits, as Attachment No. 11, many pages reproduced from *Le Memorial de la Deportation des Juifs de France* (*The Memorial of the Deportation of the Jews of France*) a book by Serge Klarsfeld published in Paris in 1978.

Of the pages submitted, 87 consist of lists of Jews deported from France to Eastern Europe during the Second World War. These pages list the deportees alphabetically by family name, first name, date of birth and place of birth. The impression is given that all of the many thousands of persons listed were killed according to a German policy of extermination. This impression is not accurate. The book merely provides a listing of Jews deported from France, not of Jews who died at Auschwitz or anywhere else during the Second World War.

A particularly prominent example will suffice to prove this. On page 519 of the *Memorial*, the following person is listed: Simone Jacob was one of 500 Jews—male and female—in rail convoy number 17 which left Drancy, France, on 13 April 1944.

To find out what happened to the deportees, one next consults the *Hefte von Auschwitz*, published by the State Museum of Auschwitz. As a Polish government institution, the State Museum of Auschwitz (Panstwowe Muzeum Oswiecim) is controlled by the Polish communist party. The plaintiff apparently has considerable confidence in this institution as a reliable authority. It published three of the books from which pages were submitted to the court by the plaintiff. [Auschwitz 1940—1945, Plaintiff Attachment No. 3; KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS, Plaintiff Attachment No. 5; and, KZ Auschwitz: Reminiscences of an SS Man, Plaintiff Attachment No. 10)

According to the *Hefte von Auschwitz* (Nr. 7, 1964, p.88), the 165 men of the convoy were admitted to the Auschwitz camp as inmates and given registration numbers. All the others, including Simone Jacob, were allegedly gassed on 16 April 1944, the day of the convoy's arrival at the camp.

Today, Simone Jacob is well known by her married name of Simone Veil. The former French Minister of Health is now President of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Thus, according to documentation considered reliable by the plaintiff, Simone Jacob (Veil) was another Jewish victim of the Auschwitz gas chambers. But she is very much alive today. One may ask: If the German policy was to exterminate Jews Deported from France, why wasn't 18-year-old Simon Jacob killed at Auschwitz?

The entire listing of Jews deported from France as given in the *Memorial* submitted by plaintiff in no way constitutes evidence of

plaintiff's claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. The fact that Simone Veil is alive today is another indication of the unreliability of the evidence submitted by plaintiff to support his claim. The Memorial submitted by plaintiff is not merely irrelevant to this case, it serves to discredit his argument and lend support to the notion that plaintiff's claim may reasonably be considered the subject of dispute.

The plaintiff submits as Attachment No. 12 a notarized statement dated 4 May 1981 by Simon Wiesenthal. For some 25 years, Wiesenthal has managed the "Jewish Documentation Center" in Vienna. He is well known as a "Nazi hunter" because he has been instrumental in bringing many persons to trial for allegedly committing crimes against Jews during the Second World War. Although Wiesenthal is not a historian, one would expect that a man of his reputation would be reliable and accurate in stating facts for a court case dealing with the subject to which he has dedicated his life. Such, however, is not the case.

The statement by Simon Wiesenthal submitted by the plaintiff is confused, distorted and factually incorrect. The final paragraph of the statement reads:

In a South African newspaper they maintained that Hitler didn't know about the killing of Jews and therefore it could not be reality. The Federation of Jewish Communities brought this matter before the court. Albert Speer, a former friend of Hitler and minister of his government made a statement for the court in Johannesburg. He declared under oath that Hitler often spoke about the murdering of Jews and that as far as he had known gasifications of Jews took place. Speer is a witness of Hitler's close environment. The trial against the newspaper had been won with the help of this testimony

This is a complete distortion of fact.

In June 1976, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (not the "Federation of Jewish Communities") began legal action to have a booklet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?* effectively banned. (Not something from "a South African newspaper.") The South African government acted favorably and declared the booklet "undesirable" which had the effect of prohibiting its further dissemination.

In preparation for a hearing before the South African Publications Appeal Board, the Jewish Board of Deputies obtained an affidavit dated 15 June 1977 from Albert Speer, former confidant of Adolf Hitler and wartime Reich Minister of Armaments. Contrary to what Wiesenthal states, it is not true that Speer "declared under oath that Hitler often spoke about the murdering of Jews and that as far as he knows gasifications of Jews took place." In point of fact, Speer repeatedly maintained that he

never had any first hand knowledge of any policy to kill the Jews of Europe.

Shortly after his recent death, the *Jewish Journal* (Brooklyn, N.Y. 11 September 1981, p4) noted in an obituary that Speer "always maintained that he did not know of the death camps in which six million Jews died." He also stated on many occasions that he never heard Hitler speak about any such plan or program. In a letter dated 6 May 1977 to Mr. Denis Diamond, Executive Director of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Speer stated specifically that ". . . I would give something for being able to state clearly that Hitler had ordered the killing of the Jews in my presence. Neither am I in the position to testify to the exact number of killed Jews."

Furthermore, in his memoirs, published in English under the title *Inside the Third Reich*, Speer nowhere states that he knew anything of any mass killing of Jews during the Second World War. This is particularly remarkable because Speer was in an excellent position to have known about such a policy if one had existed.

The inaccuracy and confusion of Simon Wiesenthal's statement of 4 May 1981 is unfortunately all too typical of so much of the "evidence" for the alleged gassing of Jews during the Second World War. The Wiesenthal statement submitted by the plaintiff is demonstrably incorrect and false. It is itself evidence that plaintiff's claim of gassings at Auschwitz may reasonably be considered the subject of dispute and hence not suitable for judicial notice.

Despite the highly favorable image in the mass media, Simon Wiesenthal has proven himself unreliable even as a "Nazi hunter." A lengthy article copyrighted by the American Bar Association and published in the *Washington Post* (Sunday, 10 May 1981, ppB5, B8) revealed that Wiesenthal took part in a witch-hunt against Frank Walus, a man falsely accused of helping the Germans murder Jews during the Second World War. The Walus case demonstrated not only the recklessness of Simon Wiesenthal but the general unreliability of the eyewitness "testimony" which constitutes the bulk of the "Holocaust" evidence.

The following is from the *Washington Post* article, entitled "The Nazi Who Never Was: How a witchhunt by judge, press and investigators branded an innocent man a war criminal":

In January 1977, the United States government accused a Chicagoan named Frank Walus of having committed atrocities in Poland during World War II.

In the following four years, this retired factory worker went into debt in order to raise more than \$60,000 to defend himself. He sat in a courtroom while 11 Jewish survivors of the Nazi occupation of

Poland testified that they saw him murder children, an old woman, a young woman, a hunchback and others. . . .

Overwhelming evidence shows that Walus was not a Nazi war criminal, that he was not even in Poland during World War II.

. . . In an atmosphere of hatred and loathing verging on hysteria, the government persecuted an innocent man.

In 1974, Simon Wiesenthal, the famous "Nazi hunter" of Vienna, denounced Walus as "a Pole in Chicago who performed duties with the Gestapo in the ghettos of Czestochowa and Kielce and handed over a number of Jews to the Gestapo."

Wiesenthal did not say on what basis he made this denunciation. He says that Michael Alper was not his source, but he will not name anyone else. Did he check on his source before he accused Walus? There is no evidence of it. No documents ever have been produced against Walus, and all of the witnesses against him were found after 1974.

The Chicago weekly newspaper Reader (23 January 1981) also reported on the case in a very extensive article headlined: "The Persecution of Frank Walus: To Catch a Nazi: The U.S. government wanted a war criminal. So, with the help of Simon Wiesenthal, the Israeli police, the local press and Judge Julius Hoffman, they invented one."

The article stated (pages 19 and 30):

. . . It is logical to assume that the "reports" received by Wiesenthal (against Walus) actually were rumors and that the rumors, though they may not have come directly from Alper, were started by Alper after Walus threw him out of the house in 1973.

In other words, Simon Wiesenthal had no evidence against Walus. He denounced him anyway.

While (Judge) Hoffman had the Walus case under advisement, *Holocaust* aired on television. During the same period, in April 1978, Simon Wiesenthal came to Chicago, where he gave interviews taking credit for the Walus case. "How Nazi-Hunter Helped Find Walus," was the Sun-Times headline on a story by Bob Olmstead. Wiesenthal told Sun-Times writer Abe Peck that he "has never had a case of mistaken identity." "I know there are thousands of people who wait for my mistake," he said.

Plaintiff submitted a copy of an article from the Los Angeles Times of 24 February 1979 ("Aerial Photos of Auschwitz Camp," pp1, 6) with two accompanying aerial photos of portions of the Auschwitz camp complex. (Plaintiff Attachment No. 21).

The most detailed presentation of the photos is available in a 19-page booklet published by the Central Intelligence Agency and prepared by two CIA employees, Dino A. Brugione and Robert. G. Poirier. (*The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of*

the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex. ST 79-10001.
Published in Washington, D.C. in 1979.)

The article submitted by the plaintiff does not reveal that all of the descriptive labels on the photos, including those which identify certain buildings as "gas chambers," were added to the photos more than thirty years after the end of the war by the CIA employees. The identification of buildings as "gas chambers" was not done on the basis of any evidence to be found in the photos themselves. Nothing in the photos gives any indication whatsoever that the buildings described as "gas chambers" were really such. Rather, the "identification" was made solely on the basis of post-war "evidence" or "testimony" of dubious reliability.

The aerial photos actually serve to discredit plaintiff's claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. On these dates, Allied aircraft took aerial photos of the Auschwitz complex during the period when mass killing in the gas chambers was allegedly happening: 4 April, 26 July, 25 August, and 13 September, 1944,. And yet on none of the photos taken on random dates during this period can one find the slightest trace of evidence for a mass killing program. There are no large crowds of Jews destined for destruction, no smoke and flame billowing from the crematoria which were supposedly operating continuously, nor even the slightest trace of corpses and/or ashes. All of these should have been visible had any significant number of Jews been gassed and disposed of at Auschwitz. The CIA employees who first examined and presented these photos were admittedly somewhat disturbed about this fact. "Although survivors recalled that smoke and flame emanated continually from the crematoria chimneys and was visible for miles, the photography we examined gave no positive proof of this." (p11)

The aerial photos cast serious doubt on the claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz because what they reveal is so completely inconsistent with the "evidence" usually offered for the existence of an alleged gassing extermination process.

In conclusion, the material submitted by attorney for the plaintiff in support of the contention that Jews were killed by gassing at Auschwitz during the Second World War is unreliable, contradictory and, in some cases, demonstrably false. It is not compelling evidence. Indeed, the very evidence submitted by plaintiff casts doubt on the contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. The aerial photos taken during 1944 and mentioned earlier are especially significant in this regard. Furthermore, the arguments and evidence brought forward by those who disagree with the contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz are reasonable and worthy of consideration. The contention That Jews were gassed at Auschwitz may reasonably be the subject of dispute.

I have appended to this statement nine attachments of material copied from various published sources.

Attachments

1. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1980, pp5-22, "The International 'Holocaust' Controversy" by Dr. Arthur R. Butz: pp23-30, "The Mechanics of Gassing" by Prof. Robert Faurisson.
2. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Summer 1980, pp103-114, "The 'Problem of the Gas Chambers'" by Prof. Robert Faurisson: pp115-119; "In the Matter of Robert Faurisson" by John Bennett.
3. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Winter 1980, pp323-334, "The Faurisson Affair" by Dr. Arthur Butz.
4. The "Problem of the 'Gas Chambers'" or "The Rumor of Auschwitz" by Prof. Robert Faurisson. Translation of various statements by Prof. Faurisson which appeared originally in the Paris daily newspaper *Le Monde*.
5. *Six Million Lost and Found*, by "Richard Harwood" (pseudonym), published in Britain (complete text).
6. *Auschwitz: A Personal Account*, by Thies Christophersen, Published in the United States in 1979.
7. *Verite historique ou verite politique*, (Historical Truth or Political Truth), by Serge Thion (and Robert Faurisson) Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1980, pp25-36. An essay by Serge Thion on the historical development of the Auschwitz and "holocaust" legends: pp310-322, Analysis of photographs from Auschwitz, with explanations: p328, Auschwitz "gassing victim" Simone Veil is alive.
8. *Memoire en Defense* (Memoir in Defense Against Those Who Accuse Me of Falsifying History—The Gas Chamber Question), by Robert Faurisson (with preface by Noam Chomsky), Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980. pp147-167: Documentation on the "material impossibility of the Auschwitz 'gas chambers'."
9. *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Arthur R. Butz, Torrance, Calif, The Noontide Press, 1979, pp100-124, Examination of an affidavit of Rudolf Hoess.

Notes to the Introduction

1. *Mermelstein vs. Institute for Historical Review, et al.* No. C35642, Superior Court of California, in and for the County of Los Angeles.
2. Generally, judicial notice is taken of technical matters such as, for example, the temperature at which water boils or the life expectancy of an individual based upon standard actuarial tables.
3. The California Supreme Court in *Communist Party v. Peek* (1942), 20 Cal.2d 536, a leading case on the subject of the applicability of judicial notice, said, quoting from the earlier case of *Varcoe v. Lee*, 180 Cal. 344, that "if there were any possibility of dispute' the fact cannot be judicially noticed; and... 'if there is doubt whatever as the fact itself...evidence should be required." (Pages 546-547)

Facts, Allegations and Judicial Notice

Submitted to the California Superior Court
in the Case, *Mermelstein vs. IHR et al.*, by

COUNSEL FOR DEFENDANTS

Introduction

The defendants in the above-entitled cause respectfully submit the following Points and Authorities, and the appended Declaration of Mark Edward Weber, in opposition to the Plaintiff's Request that Court take Judicial Notice of the fact that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz.

Argument

The question whether Jews were gassed at Auschwitz is not susceptible to judicial notice.

Judicial notice may not be taken of any matter unless authorized or required by law. Deering's *Annotated Evidence Code*, Section 450. This is true even though, to the judge, the fact may appear to be indisputable. *Varcoe v. Lee*, 180 C. 338, 181 P. 223 (Cal. 1919).

The California Evidence Code sets forth certain matters which must be or may be, judicially noticed. Section 451 (f) mandates judicial notice of facts and propositions of generalized knowledge that are so universally known that they cannot reasonably be the subject of dispute. Section 452 (h) permits judicial notice of facts and propositions that are not reasonably subject to dispute and are capable of immediate and accurate determination by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy.

It is commonly understood that judicial notice is not to be used to resolve the disputed issues of a case, but rather is a way of avoiding time-wasting and expense in the proof of matters which are so obvious and indisputable as to necessitate no proof. That the moon was full on a certain date, or that in California the sun is always higher in the sky at noon than at dawn, or that Napoleon Bonaparte once ruled France, are facts that fall in that

category. But the hazards of judicial notice are illustrated by the ease with which judges might at one time have taken judicial notice (to the great detriment of pioneering searchers for truth) that the earth is flat, that the earth does not orbit the sun, that the application of leeches is the best cure for fever, that humanity has existed for only a few thousand years, or that witches commonly cause the failure of crops and the drying of cows. Examples of this kind demonstrate that a debated issue, though most of the population stand on one side and only a tiny minority on the other, should not be resolved by judicial notice. This is particularly true where the treacherous shoals of "that huge Mississippi of falsehood called history" (Matthew Arnold) are concerned.

The alleged historical event which the plaintiff asks this Court to take judicial notice of is at this time heatedly disputed by a number of researchers. Those researchers substantiate their argument with objective evidence, as is amply shown in the Declaration of Mark Edward Weber annexed hereto. For example, although the plaintiff and some other inmates present at Auschwitz-Birkenau during the summer of 1944 state that the crematoria belched smoke and flames day and night during that period, Allied aerial photographs taken on various days during the same period show nothing issuing from those chimneys at any time.

In the deposition of Melvin Mermelstein, taken on May 27, 1981, the plaintiff states that he saw at Birkenau four chimneys spewing red flames (page 34); that he saw members of his family go into "gas chamber No. 5," where they were gassed and cremated (page 37); that he was 40 or 50 feet from the entrance to "the gas chambers" that his relatives entered (page 46); that gas chamber No. 5 was underground (page 47); and that there was one chimney on gas chamber No. 5 (pages 47 and 116). The plaintiff's claims are contradicted by a report (*The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex* by Central Intelligence Agency Photo-analysts, Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier) published in 1979 after the CIA turned over to the National Archives aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau between April 4, 1944 and January 14, 1945. (It should be noted that Brugioni and Poirier make the assumption, in no way warranted by the photographs they are analyzing, that gas chambers existed at Auschwitz-Birkenau; those who deny that there were any gas chambers maintain that the facilities in question were crematoria.)

On page 12 of *The Holocaust Revisited*, beneath a photograph of facilities 4 and 5, the author states:

The imagery acquired on 13 September 1944 provides a unique view of Gas Chambers and Crematoria IV and V (Photo 7). Located among the trees of the "Birch Wood," these facilities could not be seen by surviving prisoners in the camp. They were of a different design than Gas Chambers I and II; they had two rather than one chimney each, and were built totally above the ground rather than having underground sections.

(Emphasis added.)

The photographs reproduced in the CIA report show all four of the Birkenau crematoria (i.e. numbers 2 through 5) to be surrounded by fencing and landscaping which would have made it impossible for anyone outside the enclosed areas to watch people inside, as the plaintiff claims that he did for some two hours at dawn on May 22, 1944.

Such discrepancies between objective evidence and the plaintiff's claims should alone be sufficient to prevent the taking of judicial notice of the claim.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau rose to prominence by demonstrating in a great debate in Paris (1744) that the "falsifying of history had done more to retard than to advance human welfare." (Jennings Wise). All societies whether by design or error have their historical myths and misconceptions. The plaintiff is part of a movement to institutionalize and transform into sacrosanct dogma a version of history which a growing number of other people sincerely and seriously dispute. When the photo-analysts Brugioni and Poinier wrote about "gas chambers" it was because they accepted the popular version of history which the plaintiff wishes to perpetuate and were no doubt unaware that there was another side to the story. It was not because the aerial photographs themselves gave evidence of people being exterminated in gas chambers. On the contrary, during the days when the extermination process was supposed to be at its height, the pictures show no people at all in the vicinity of the "gas chambers," no lines of people on the neatly landscaped grounds of those chimneied facilities, and never any smoke or flame issuing from those chimneys (four chimneys at Birkenau accordingly to the plaintiff, six according to photographic evidence). The only lines of people are in other parts of the camps—the registration area, for example. The original analysts of the same photographs during World War Two did not see gas chambers or an extermination camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau for the simple reason that the photographs themselves, viewed with an unbiased eye, give not even a hint of such terrible things. Viewed with an objective eye today, the same photographs are outstanding evidence that Auschwitz-Birkenau was not—contrary to the plaintiff's contention—a death factory, belching flames day and night as it

consumed millions of victims.

The defendants respectfully submit that the plaintiff is attempting to enlist the authority and prestige of this Court for the illegitimate purpose of placing its imprimatur on a version of past events which is currently under heavy and well-supported attack. To make the matter worse, the assertions on which the plaintiff asks the Court to take judicial notice are irrelevant to all imaginably viable issues of this lawsuit. (Defendants do not admit there are any issues which would stand in the way of a summary judgment in their favor.)

The doctrine of judicial notice was adopted as a judicial shortcut to avoid necessity for the formal introduction of evidence in certain cases where there is no real need for such evidence. Before a court will take judicial notice of any fact, however, that fact must be a matter of common and general knowledge well-established and authoritatively settled, not doubtful or uncertain. *Communist Party of the United States of America v. Peek*, 20 C. 2d 536, 546 (Superior Court of Los Angeles County, 1942)

In *Communist Party v. Peek* the issue was whether the court should take judicial notice of the assertion that the Communist Party advocates force and violence. The court refused to take judicial notice, pointing with approval to the Washington supreme court's refusal to take judicial notice of the same "fact for the reason that the litigants denied it." 20 C. 2d 547, citing *State v. Reeves*, 106 P. 2d 729. The Superior Court of Los Angeles strongly implied that the denial of an alleged fact by a party to a lawsuit was alone sufficient to persuade a court not to take judicial notice of the alleged fact. 20 C. 2d 548.

In further support of its holding the court said at 546-547:

As was pointed out in *Varcoe v. Lee*, 180 Cal. 338, 344 (181 Pac. 223), "if there were any possibility of dispute" the fact cannot be judicially noticed; and again (p. 345): "It is truly said that the power of judicial notice is as to matters claimed to be matters of general knowledge one to be used with caution. If there is any doubt whatever either as to the fact itself or as to its being a matter of common knowledge evidence should be required."

In *Weitzenkorn v. Lesser*, 40 C. 2d 778, 256 P. 2d 947 (Cal. 1953), a case cited by the plaintiff, the court quoted some of the same statements set forth above, and went on to refuse to take judicial notice "of the contents of published books in deciding whether Weitzenkorn's claim of originality has merit." 40 C 2d at 787.

Another case cited in the plaintiff's argument is *Galloway v. Moreno*, 183 C.A. 2d 804, 7 Cal. Rptr. 349 (1960). There it was also concluded that the court could not take judicial notice as requested by one of the parties. Two cases summarized by the plaintiff, *Frankel's Estate*, 92 N.Y. Supp. 2d 30 (1949) and *Singer's Estate*, 100 N.Y. Supp. 2d 100 (1950).

nation that certain Europeans who had been missing since the wartime period of the 1940's could be presumed dead. It does not appear in either case that the taking of judicial notice was contested. The matters of which judicial notice was taken in those estate cases were not the same as the allegation of which the plaintiff asks this Court to take judicial notice. Besides, what may be a proper subject of judicial notice at a particular time or at a particular place may not be so at a different time or different place. *Varcoe v. Lee, supra.*

The plaintiff's request for the taking of judicial notice should be denied because it concerns a subject which is uncertain and disputable. Perhaps in no area of human knowledge are uncertainty and the need for correction more certain than in history.

"What is history but a fable agreed upon?" Napoleon Bonaparte, *Sayings.*

"History, a distillation of rumour . . ." Carlyle, *The French Revolution.*

"A fairminded man, when reading history, is occupied almost entirely with refuting it." Voltaire, *Essai sur le moeurs.*

Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace

HARRY ELMER BARNES

During the last forty years or so, Revisionism has become a fighting term. To so-called Revisionists, it implies an honest search for historical truth and the discrediting of misleading myths that are a barrier to peace and goodwill among nations. In the minds of anti-Revisionists, the term savors of malice, vindictiveness, and an unholy desire to smear the saviors of mankind.

Actually, Revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to correct the historical record in the light of a more complete collection of historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude. It has been going on ever since Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) exposed the forged "Donation of Constantine," which was a cornerstone of the papal claim to secular power, and he later called attention to the unreliable methods of Livy in dealing with early Roman history. Indeed, the Revisionist impulse long antedated Valla, and it has been developing ever since that time. It had been employed in American history long before the term came into rather general use following the first World War.

Revisionism has been most frequently and effectively applied to correcting the historical record relative to wars, because truth is always the first war casualty, the emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are greatest in wartime, and both the need and the material for correcting historical myths are most evident in connection with wars.

Revisionism was applied to the American Revolution many years ago. Beginning with the writings of men like George Louis Beer, it was shown that the British commercial policy toward the Colonies was not as harsh and lawless as it had been portrayed by George Bancroft and others among the early ultra-patriotic historians. Others

demonstrated that the British measures imposed on the colonies after the close of the French and Indian War were in general accord with the British constitutional system. Finally, Clarence W. Alvord made it clear that Britain was more concerned with the destiny of the Mississippi Valley than she was with such disturbances as those connected with the Stamp Act, the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party.

The War of 1812 was similarly subjected to Revisionist correction. Henry Adams revealed that Timothy Pickering and the extreme anti-war Federalists played a decisive role in encouraging the British to continue their oppressive commercial policies that aided the American "warhawks" in leading this country into war. They misrepresented Jefferson's commercial and naval policies to an almost treasonable extent. More recently, Irving Brant, in his notable biography of Madison, has shown that Madison was not actually pushed into war against his personal convictions by Clay, Calhoun, and the "warhawks," but made the decision for war on the basis of his own beliefs.

The Mexican War has been specifically treated by Revisionists. For a long time, historians who sought to correct the wartime passions of 1846 criticized Polk and the war group as rather conscienceless war-mongers, impelled by political ambition, who pounced without justification upon a helpless little country. Then, in 1919, along came Justin H. Smith, who, in his *The War With Mexico*, showed that there had been plenty of arrogance, defiance and provocation on the part of Santa Ana and the Mexicans.

"The Wrong War"

While the term Revisionism has been little used in connection with the process, the causes of the Civil War (War between the States) have been a field for far more extensive Revisionist research and restatement than the causes of either World War. This was made clear in the remarkable summary of Revisionist studies of the coming of the Civil War by Professor Howard K. Beale in 1946. The outcome of these scholarly efforts demonstrated that the Civil War, like General Bradley's description of the Korean

War, was "the wrong war, in the wrong place at the wrong time." Hotheads on both sides brought on the war, while judicious restraint might easily have averted the catastrophe. Professor William A. Dunning and his seminar students at Columbia University rigorously applied Revisionism to the aftermath of the Civil War and vindictive reconstruction measures piloted through Congress by Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens. Their verdict was popularized in Claude Bowers' book on *The Tragic Era*.

Revisionist historians soon tackled the propaganda concerning the Spanish-American War which had been fomented by Hearst and Pulitzer and exploited by the war camp among the Republicans of 1898. James Ford Rhodes showed how McKinley, with the full Spanish concessions to his demands in his pocket, concealed the Spanish capitulation from Congress and demanded war. Further research has revealed that there is no conclusive evidence whatever that the Spanish sank the battleship Maine and has shown that Theodore Roosevelt quite illegally started the war by an unauthorized order to Admiral Dewey to attack the Spanish fleet at Manila while Secretary Long was out of his office. Julius H. Pratt and others have exposed the irresponsible war-mongering of the "war hawks" of 1898, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge and Albert J. Beveridge, and indicated the primary responsibility of Admiral Mahan for the expansionist philosophy upon which this rise of American imperialism was based.

Hence, long before the Austrian Archduke was assassinated by Serbian plotters on 28 June 1914, Revisionism had a long and impressive history and had been brought into use on all the important wars in which the United States had been engaged. Applied abroad to the Franco-Prussian War, it clearly proved that the initiative lay with France rather than Bismarck and the Prussians. But it was the first World War which brought the term "Revisionism" into general use. This was because many wished to use the historical studies of the causes of the War as the basis for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, which had been based on a complete acceptance of the theory of sole German-Austrian responsibility for the outbreak of the European War in early August, 1914.

By that time, the new methods of communication, mass journalism, and greater mastery of propaganda techniques enabled the combatants to whip up popular opinion and mass hatred as never before in the history of warfare. Jonathan French Scott's *Five Weeks* revealed how the press stirred up violent hatreds in July, 1914. The intensity of feeling in the United States has recently been recalled in an impressive manner in H.C. Peterson's *Opponents of War, 1917-1918*. As C. Hartley Grattan, the present writer, and others, have pointed out, the historians scrambled on the propaganda bandwagon with great alacrity and vehemence. It was almost universally believed that Germany was entirely responsible not only for the outbreak of war in 1914 but also for American entry in April, 1917. Anyone who publicly doubted this popular dogma was in danger of the tar bucket, and Eugene Debs was imprisoned by the man who had proclaimed the War to be one to make the world safe for democracy. Debs' crime was a statement that the War had an economic basis, precisely what Wilson himself declared in a speech on 5 September 1919.

There is no space here to go into the scope and nature of Revisionist studies on the causes of the first World War. We can only illustrate the situation by citing a few of the outstanding myths and indicating the manner in which they were disposed of by Revisionists.

Crown Council Myth

The most damaging allegation brought against Germany was that the Kaiser called together a Crown Council of the leading German government officials, ambassadors, and financiers on 5 July 1914, revealed to them that he was about to throw Europe into war, and told them to get ready for the conflict. The financiers demanded two weeks delay so as to be able to call in loans and sell securities. The Kaiser acceded to this demand, and left the next day on a well-publicized vacation cruise. This was designed to lull England, France and Russia into a false sense of security while Germany and Austria-Hungary secretly got ready to leap upon an unprepared and unsuspecting Europe. The first complete statement of this charge appeared in Ambassador Morgenthau's *Story*, which was ghost written by

a leading American journalist, Burton J. Hendrick.

Professor Sidney B. Fay, the leading American Revisionist dealing with the outbreak of war in 1914, proved from the available documents that this Crown Council legend was a complete myth. Some of the persons alleged to have been at the Council meeting were not in Berlin at the time. The Kaiser's actual attitude on July 5th was completely at variance with that portrayed in the legend, and there was no such financial action as was implied. But it was a long time before it was revealed how Mr. Morgenthau got this story. It was known that he was an honorable man, and not even the most severe critics of the myth charged that he had deliberately concocted and disseminated a lie.

Many years later, Paul Schwarz, who was the personal secretary to the German Ambassador in Constantinople, Baron Hans von Wangenheim, revealed the facts. Von Wangenheim had a mistress in Berlin and, in the early days of the crisis of 1914, she demanded that he return at once to Berlin to settle some critical matters with her. He complied and, to conceal from his wife the real reason for his making the trip, he told her that the Kaiser had suddenly summoned him to Berlin. On his return, he told his wife about the fanciful Crown Council that he had dreamed up. Shortly after this with his wife by his side, von Wangenheim met Morgenthau, then the American Ambassador at Constantinople, at a diplomatic reception. Morgenthau had heard about von Wangenheim's trip to Berlin and pressed him as to what had happened. Under the circumstances, von Wangenheim could only repeat the myth he had told his wife. To what extent liquor may have lessened his restraint and how much Morgenthau and Hendrick elaborated on what von Wangenheim actually told Morgenthau are not known and probably never will be.

This fantastic tale, created out of whole cloth, both indicates the need for Revisionism and demonstrates how momentous and tragic events may hang on the most palpable fabrications. Since Morgenthau's book did not appear until 1918, his tale about the fictitious Crown Council had a great influence upon Allied propaganda against Germany at the end of the War. It was used in Lloyd George's campaign of 1918 advocating the hanging of the Kaiser and by the more vindictive makers of the Treaty of Versailles. It is

quite possible that otherwise the latter would never have been able to write the war-guilt clause into the Treaty. Since historians are agreed that it was the Treaty of Versailles which prepared the way for the second World War, the hare-brained von Wangenheim alibi of July, 1914, may have had some direct relation to the sacrifice of millions of lives and astronomical expenditures of money in the wars since 1939, with the possibility that the ultimate consequences may be the extermination of much of the human race through nuclear warfare.

Another item which was used to inflame opinion against the Germans was their invasion of Belgium. The Allied propaganda presented this as the main reason for the entry of England into the War and the final proof of the charge that the Germans had no regard for international law or the rights of small nations. Revisionist scholars proved that the British and French had for some time been considering the invasion of Belgium in the event of a European war, and that English officers had travelled over Belgium carefully surveying the terrain against this contingency. Further, the Germans offered to respect the neutrality of Belgium in return for British neutrality in the War. Finally, John Burns, one of the two members of the British Cabinet who resigned when Britain made the decision for war in 1914, told me personally in the summer of 1927 that the Cabinet decision for war had been made before a word had been said about the Belgian issue. The following year, the Memorandum on Resignation of the famed John Morley, the other Cabinet member who resigned in 1914 as a protest against the war policy, fully confirmed Burns' account of the matter.

Atrocity Tales

A third leading allegation which produced violent feelings against the Germans in the first World War was the charge that they had committed unique and brutal atrocities against civilians, especially in Belgium—mutilating children, women and the helpless, generally. They were said to have utilized the bodies of dead German and Allied soldiers to make fertilizers and soap, and otherwise to have behaved like degraded beasts. The distinguished British publicist, Lord James Bryce, was induced to lend his name

to the authentication of these atrocity reports. After the War, a large number of books riddled these atrocity tales, notably Sir Arthur Ponsonby's *Falsehood in Wartime*, and J.M. Read's *Atrocity Propaganda*. The first World War was no picnic, but no informed scholar today believes that any considerable part of the alleged atrocities actually took place, or that the Germans were any more guilty of atrocious conduct than the other participants in the War.

Scholars and publicists who had been condemned to silence during the War soon sought to clear their consciences and set the record straight after the close of hostilities. Indeed Francis Neilson anticipated many basic Revisionist conclusions in his *How Diplomats Make War*, which was published in 1915 and may be regarded as the first important Revisionist book on the causes of the first World War. Lord Loreburn's *How the War Came*, a scathing indictment of the English diplomats, came out at the same time that the Treaty of Versailles was drafted.

The first American scholar thoroughly to challenge the wartime propaganda was Professor Sidney B. Fay of Smith College who brought out a series of three striking articles in the *American Historical Review*, beginning in July, 1920. These first aroused my interest in the facts. During the War, I had accepted the propaganda; indeed, had unwittingly written some of it. While I wrote some reviews and short articles dealing with the actual causes of the first World War between 1921 and 1924, I first got thoroughly involved in the Revisionist struggle when Herbert Croly of the *New Republic* induced me in March, 1924, to review at length the book of Professor Charles Downer Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*. This aroused so much controversy that George W. Ochsoakes, editor of the *New York Times Current History Magazine*, urged me to set forth a summary of Revisionist conclusions at the time in the issue of May, 1924. This really launched the Revisionist battle in the United States.

Even the largest publishing houses and the best periodicals eagerly sought Revisionist material for publication. Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War*, J.S. Ewart's *Roots and Causes of the Wars*, and my *Genesis of the World War* were the leading Revisionist books in 1914 by American authors published in the United States. American Revisionists found allies in Europe: Georges Demartial, Alfred

Fabre-Luce, and others, in France; Friedrich Stieve, Maximilian Montgelas, Alfred von Wegerer, Hermann Lutz, and others, in Germany; and G.P. Gooch, Raymond Beazley, and G. Lowes Dickinson, in England. Turning from the causes of war in Europe in 1914, other scholars, notable Charles C. Tansill, Walter Millis, and C. Hartley Grattan, told the truth about the entry of the United States into the War. Mauritz Hallgren produced the definitive indictment of American interventionist diplomacy from Wilson to Roosevelt in his *A Tragic Fallacy*.

At the outset, Revisionist writing was rather precarious. Professor Fay was not in peril, personally, for he wrote in a scholarly journal which the public missed or ignored. But when I began to deal with the subject in media read by at least the upper intellectual level of the "men on the street," it was a different matter. I recall giving a lecture in Trenton, New Jersey, in the early days of Revisionism and being bodily threatened by fanatics who were present. They were cowed and discouraged by the chairman of the evening, who happened to be a much respected former-Governor of New Jersey. Even in the autumn of 1924, a rather scholarly audience in Amherst, Massachusetts, became somewhat agitated and was only calmed down when Ray Stannard Baker expressed general agreement with my remarks.

Gradually, the temper of the country changed, but at first it was caused more by resentment against our former allies than by the impact of Revisionist writings. It was the "Uncle Shylock" talk of 1924-27 which turned the trick. This indication of implied Allied ingratitude for American aid in the War made the public willing to read and accept the truth relative to the causes, conduct, merits, and results of the first World War. Moreover, with the passage of time, the intense emotions of wartime had an opportunity to cool off. By the mid-1930's, when Walter Millis's *Road to War* appeared, it was welcomed by a great mass of American readers and was one of the most successful books of the decade. Revisionism had finally won out.

Interestingly enough, as a phase of the violent anti-Revisionism after 1945, there has set in a determined effort on the part of some historians and journalists to discredit the Revisionist scholarship of 1920-1939 and return to the myths

of 1914-1920. This trend is devastatingly challenged and refuted by the eminent expert on World War I Revisionism, Hermann Lutz, in his book on German-French Unity (1957), which takes account of the most recent materials in the field.

Genesis of the Term

As we have already explained briefly, the historical scholarship that sought to produce the truth relative to the causes of the first World War came to be known as Revisionism. This was because the Treaty of Versailles had been directly based on the thesis of unique and sole German-Austrian responsibility for the coming of the war in 1914. By the mid-1920's, scholars had established the fact that Russia, France and Serbia were more responsible than Germany and Austria. Hence, from the standpoint of both logic and factual material, the Treaty should have been revised in accordance with the newly revealed truth. Nothing of the sort took place, and in 1933 Hitler appeared on the scene to carry out the revision of Versailles by force, with the result that another and more devastating world war broke out in 1939.

Since Revisionism, whatever its services to the cause of historical truth, failed to avert the second World War, many have regarded the effort to seek the truth about the responsibility for war as futile in any practical sense. But any such verdict is not conclusive. Had not the general political and economic situation in Europe, from 1920 onward, been such as overwhelmingly to encourage emotions and restrain reason, there is every probability that the Revisionist verdict on 1914 would have led to changes in the Versailles *Diktat* that would have preserved peace. In the United States, less disturbed by emotional cross-currents, Revisionism exerted an impressive influence, all of which worked for peace. It was partly responsible for increasing the restraint imposed on France at the time of the Ruhr invasion for the mitigation of the harsh reparations system, for the Nye investigation of the armament industry and its nefarious ramifications, and for our neutrality legislation.

The fact that, despite many months of the most vigorous and irresponsible propaganda for our intervention in the

second World War, over eighty per cent of the American people were in favor of refraining from intervention on the very eve of Pearl Harbor proves that the impact of Revisionism on the American public mind had been deep, abiding and salutary. If President Roosevelt had not been able to incite the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor, the Revisionist campaign of the late 1920's might have saved the United States from the tragedies of the early 1940's and what may be the greater calamities which grew out of our intervention in the second World War and still lie ahead of us.

The Role of the Mass Media

Long before the second World War broke out at the beginning of September, 1939, it was evident that, when it came, it would present an even more dramatic and formidable Revisionist problem at its close than did the first World War. The stage was all set for a much greater volume and variety of distorting hatreds than in the years before 1914, and the capacity to whip up passion and disseminate myths had notably increased in the interval. Many technical advances in journalism, larger newspaper staffs, especially of foreign "experts," and greater emphasis on foreign affairs, all made it certain that the press would play a far more effective role in swaying the masses than in 1914-18. Indeed, even in 1914, as Jonathan F. Scott and Oron J. Hale have made clear, the press was perhaps as potent a cause of the War as the folly of the heads of states and their diplomats. It was bound to exert an even more powerful and malevolent influence in 1939 and thereafter.

The techniques of propaganda had been enormously improved and were well-nigh completely removed from any moral restraint. The propagandists in 1939 and thereafter had at their disposal not only what had been learned relative to lying to the public during the first World War but also the impressive advances made in the techniques of public deceit for both civilian and military purposes after 1918. A leading English intelligence officer, Sidney Rogerson, even wrote a book, published in 1938, in which he told his fellow-Englishmen how to handle Americans in the case of a second World War, warning them that they could not just use over again the methods which Sir Gilbert Parker

and others had so successfully employed from 1914-1918 to beguile the American public. He suggested the new myths and strategy which would be needed. They began to be applied during the next year.

There was a far greater backlog of bitter hatreds for the propagandists to play upon by 1939. However much the Kaiser was lampooned and reviled during the war, he had been rather highly regarded before July, 1914. In 1913, at the time of the 25th anniversary of his accession to the throne, such leading Americans as Theodore Roosevelt, Nicholas Murray Butler and former-President Taft praised the Kaiser lavishly. Butler contended that if he had been born in the United States he would have been put in the White House without the formality of an election, and Taft stated that the Kaiser has been the greatest single force for peace in the whole world during his entire reign. There were no such sentiments of affection and admiration held in reserve for Hitler and Mussolini in 1939. Butler had, indeed, called Mussolini the greatest statesman of the twentieth century, but this was in the 1920's. British propaganda against Il Duce during the Ethiopian foray had put an end to most American admiration of him. The hatred built up against Hitler in the democracies by 1939 already exceeded that massed against any other figure in modern history. American and British conservatives hated Stalin and the Communists, and they were later linked with Germany and Hitler after the Russo-German Pact of August, 1939. This hatred of the Russians was fanned to a whiter flame when they invaded eastern Poland in the autumn of 1939 and Finland during the following winter. Racial differences and the color bogey made it easy to hate the Japanese and, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the real facts about which were not to be known until after the War, the hatred of the Japanese went so far that even leading American naval officers like Admiral Halsey could refer to the Japanese as literally subhuman anthropoids.

Against this background it was obvious that hatreds could thrive "without stint or limit," to use Mr. Wilson's phrase, and that lies could arise and luxuriate with abandon and without any effort to check on the facts, if there were any. Every leading country set up its official agency to carry on public deception for the duration and supported it

lavishly with almost unlimited funds. It was more than evident that there would be a super-human task for Revisionism to wrestle with once hostilities had ended.

After the first World War, the Russians took the first important steps in launching Revisionism. The Communists wished to discredit the Tsarist regime and saddle it with responsibility for the first World War, so they published the voluminous documents containing the secret Franco-Russian agreements from 1892 to 1914. These, together with supplementary French materials, did prove that France, Russia and Serbia were mainly responsible for the outbreak of war in 1914. The Russian documents were followed by the publication of the archives in other countries, and I have already indicated that many important Revisionist books appeared in European countries.

Following the second World War, the overwhelming majority of Revisionist writings have been produced in the United States. There was no Tsar for the Russians to blame in 1945. Stalin desired to preserve intact the legend that he had been surprised and betrayed by Hitler in the Nazi attack of June 22, 1941. England was watching her Empire disintegrate, and the British leaders were aware of the primary responsibility of Britain for the outbreak of war in 1939; hence, every effort was made to discourage Revisionist writing in England. France was torn with hatreds far worse than those of the French Revolution, and over 100,000 Frenchmen were butchered either directly or quasi-legally during the "liberation." Only the famous journalist, Sisley Huddleston, an expatriate Englishman resident in France, the distinguished publicist, Alfred Fabre-Luce, and the implacable Jacques Benoist-Mechin, produced anything that savored of Revisionism in France. Germany and Italy, under the heels of conquerors for years, were in no position to launch Revisionist studies. Even when these countries were freed, the hatred of Hitler and Mussolini which had survived the war discouraged Revisionist work. Only Hans Grimm and Ernst von Salomon produced anything resembling Revisionism in Germany, and their works were not devoted to diplomatic history. The only book which has appeared in Germany that can literally be regarded as a Revisionist volume is the recent work of Fritz Hesse, *Hitler and the English*. This amplifies the already known fact that

Hitler lost the war primarily because of his Anglomania and his unwillingness to use his full military power against the English when victory was possible. In Italy, the eminent scholar and diplomatic historian, Luigi Villari, wrote an able book on the foreign policy of Mussolini, which is one of the substantial products of post-World War II Revisionism, but he had to get the book published in the United States. The same was true of his book on the "liberation" of Italy after 1943.

Historical Blackout

In the United States, Revisionism got off to an early start and flourished relatively, so far as the production of substantial books was concerned. This relative profusion of Revisionist literature was, however, far surpassed by the almost insuperable obstacles that were met in trying to get such literature known to the public and read by it. In other words, an unprecedented volume of Revisionist books was accompanied by an even more formidable "historical blackout" that has thus far concealed such material from the reading public.

The reasons for the relatively greater productivity of Revisionism in the United States after 1945 are not difficult to discover. There had been over four years of debate about the European and world situation between President Roosevelt's Chicago Bridge Speech of October, 1937, and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Most of the men who produced Revisionist books after 1945 had taken part in this great debate, had gathered materials on the issues, and were well aware of the realities and of the lies told by the Interventionists. They were eager to come forth with books to sustain their old position as soon as the end of hostilities made this possible. Pearl Harbor had only silenced them for the duration. Further, the United States had been untouched by the ravages of war, it was in good economic condition at V-J Day, and it had not lost any colonial possessions. Four years of vigorous debate before Pearl Harbor and nearly four years of passionate lying and hating after that date had at least slightly exhausted the American capacity for hatred for the time being, as compared with the existing situation in Europe and Asia. There

was at least a slight and brief breathing spell until hatreds were revived when Truman launched the Cold War in March, 1947.

Some Revisionist Books

We have space to mention only the outstanding Revisionist products in the United States. John T. Flynn's *As We Go Marching* was published in 1944, his pioneer brochures on Pearl Harbor in 1944 and 1945, and his *The Roosevelt Myth* in 1948. George Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* appeared in 1947; Charles Austin Beard's two volumes on Roosevelt's foreign policy were brought out in 1946 and 1948; and Helen Mears' *Mirror for Americans: Japan*, came out in 1948. William Henry Chamberlin's *America's Second Crusade* was published in 1950; Frederic R. Sanborn's *Design for War* came off the presses in 1951; Charles C. Tansill's *Back Door to War* made its appearance in 1952; the *Symposium, Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, which I edited, presents the best anthology of Revisionist conclusions on the second World War, came out in the summer of 1953; and Richard N. Current's *Secretary Stimson* was published in 1954. Admiral R.A. Theobald's *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* appeared in 1954; Rene A. Wormser's *The Myth of the Good and Bad Nations* came out in the same year; Admiral H.E. Kimmel's *Admiral Kimmel's Story*, was published in 1955; Bryton Barron's *Inside the State Department* was brought out in 1956; and Elizabeth C. Brown's *The Enemy at His Back* was published in 1957.

In addition to these books by American Revisionists, there was an impressive list of volumes by Europeans who had to escape the even more stringent historical blackout at home and secure respectable publication in the United States. Such were Sisley Huddleston's books on *Popular Diplomacy and War*, and *France: the Tragic Years*; the trenchant criticisms of the war-crimes trials by Lord Hankey and Montgomery Beligion; the remarkable book of F.J.P. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism*, which criticized both the barbarous saturation bombing of civilians and the war-crimes trials; Russell Grenfell's devastating exposure of Germanophobia in his *Unconditional Hatred*; Emrys Hughes' brilliant biographical study of Winston Churchill; and Dr. Villari's vol-

umes on Mussolini's foreign policy and the Allied liberation of Italy. There were a number of other books on the periphery of literal Revisionism, of which Freda Utley's *High Cost of Vengeance*, dealing with the Allied folly and barbarism in Germany after V-E Day, is representative and one of the more notable. Along with it might be mentioned such books as Andy Rooney and Bud Hutton's *Conqueror's Peace*, Marshall Knappen's *And Call It Peace*, Milton Mayer's *They Thought They Were Free*, and Harold Zink's *American Military Government in Germany*.

What We Now Know

Not only have there been many more formidable Revisionist volumes published in the United States since 1945 than in the comparable period after 1918, but the facts revealed by this recent Revisionist research have been far more sensational than those produced by Revisionist scholars after the first World War. From 1937 onward Stalin had worked as hard for a war of attrition and mutual destruction between the capitalistic Nazi, Fascist and democratic countries as Sazonov and Izvolski did in 1914 to start a Franco-Russian-English war against Germany and Austria. Hitler, far from precipitately launching an aggressive war against Poland on the heels of brutal and unreasonable demands, made a far greater effort to avert war during the August, 1939, crisis than the Kaiser did during the crisis of July, 1914. And Hitler's demands on Poland were the most reasonable ones he made on any foreign country during his whole regime. They were far more conciliatory than Stresemann and the Weimar Republic would even consider. Poland was far more unreasonable and intransigent in 1938-39 than Serbia had been in 1914. Mussolini sought to dissuade Hitler from going to war in 1939 and made repeated efforts to summon peace conferences after the War began. Far from wantonly sticking "a dagger in the back of France" in June, 1940, he was virtually forced into the War by unneutral acts of economic strangulation on the part of Britain. France was loath to go to war in 1939, and only extreme pressure by the British Foreign Office prodded Bonnet and Daladier into reluctantly acceding to the bellicose British policy on September 2-3, 1939.

Whereas, in 1914, British responsibility for the first World War was chiefly that of weakness and duplicity on the part of Sir Edward Grey—more a negative than a positive responsibility—the British were almost solely responsible for the outbreak of both the German-Polish and the European Wars in early September, 1939. Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Minister, and Sir Howard Kennard, the British Ambassador in Warsaw, were even more responsible for the European War of 1939 than Sazonov, Izvolski, and Poincare were for that of 1914. Chamberlain's speech before Parliament on the night of September 2, 1939, was as mendacious a misrepresentation of the German position as had been Sir Edward Grey's address to Parliament on August 3, 1914.

The Case Against Roosevelt

As for American entry into the second World War, the case against President Roosevelt is far more impressive and damaging than that against Woodrow Wilson, who maintained at least some formal semblance of neutrality for a time after August, 1914. Roosevelt "lied the United States into war." He went as far as he dared in illegal efforts, such as convoying vessels carrying munitions, to provoke Germany and Italy to make war on the United States. Failing in this, he turned to a successful attempt to enter the War through the back door of Japan. He rejected repeated and sincere Japanese proposals that even Hull admitted protected all the vital interests of the United States in the Far East, by his economic strangulation in the summer of 1941 forced the Japanese into an attack on Pearl Harbor, took steps to prevent the Pearl Harbor Commanders, General Short and Admiral Kimmel, from having their own decoding facilities to detect a Japanese attack, kept Short and Kimmel from receiving the decoded Japanese intercepts that Washington picked up and indicated that war might come at any moment, and ordered General Marshall and Admiral Stark not to send any warning to Short and Kimmel before noon on December 7th, when Roosevelt knew that any warning sent would be too late to avert the Japanese attack at 1:00 P.M., Washington time.

Roosevelt also had a major responsibility, both direct and indirect, for the outbreak of war in Europe. He began to exert pressure on France to stand up to Hitler as early as the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936, months before he was making his strongly isolationist speeches in the campaign of 1936. This pressure on France, and also England, continued right down to the coming of the War in September, 1939. It gained volume and momentum after the Quarantine Speech of October, 1937. As the crisis approached between Munich and the outbreak of war, Roosevelt pressed the Poles to stand firm against any demands by Germany, and urged the English and French to back up the Poles unflinchingly. From captured Polish and French archives, the Germans collected no less than five volumes of material consisting almost exclusively of Roosevelt's bellicose pressure on European countries, mainly France and Poland. The Allies later seized them. Only a small portion has ever been published, most notably some seized by the Germans in Poland in 1939 and published as the *German White Paper*. It is highly probable that the material covering Roosevelt's pressure on England might amount to more than five volumes. There is no certainty whatever that England would have gone to war in September, 1939, had it not been for Roosevelt's encouragement and his assurances that, in the event of war, the United States would enter on the side of Britain just as soon as he could swing American public opinion around to support intervention. Yet, when the crisis became acute after August 23, 1939, Roosevelt sent several messages for the record urging that war be avoided through negotiations.

Despite this voluminous Revisionist literature which appeared since 1945 and its sensational content, there is still virtually no public knowledge of Revisionist facts some thirteen years after V-J Day. The "man on the street" is just as prone to accept Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy" legend today as he was on December 8, 1941. A member of the state historical department of a leading eastern state recently wrote me that he had never heard of any Revisionist movement relative to the second World War until he read my article in the Spring, 1958, issue of *Modern Age*. By 1928, most literate Americans had a passable knowledge of the facts about the coming of war in 1914 and the American

entry in 1917. What are the reasons for the strange contrast in the progress of realistic knowledge after 1918 and after 1945, so our examination of the reasons for the blockage of knowledge may be limited to the United States.

A main reason why Revisionism has made little headway since 1945 in attracting public attention in the United States is that the country never really had time to cool off after the War. We have pointed out above that the situation was not as acute here after 1945 as in Europe and Japan, but it was far more tense than it was in the United States in the 1920's. Even as early as the Congressional campaign and election of 1918, there was a rift in the wartime political monolith. By the campaign of 1920, disillusionment with the war had set in and a trend toward isolation from European quarrels had begun to assert itself. The United States refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles or to enter the League of Nations. There was a cooling off period for about twenty years after 1918. As late as 1941, the overwhelming majority of the American people wished to remain aloof from the European War, and Roosevelt had great difficulty in forcing through a peacetime draft law and in getting any repeal of the neutrality legislation.

Nothing like this happened following 1945. By March, 1946, Winston Churchill was proclaiming the Cold War in his speech at Fulton, Missouri, delivered with the benediction of President Truman, and a year later Truman actually launched the Cold War. This led, in 1950, to the outbreak of a hot war in Korea. The Orwellian technique of basing political tenure and bogus economic prosperity on cold and phony warfare had taken over by 1950, to enjoy an indefinite domination over the public mind. A hot war spontaneously provides plenty of genuine, even if dangerous and misguided, emotion, but a cold war has to be built up by propaganda and mythology and sustained on synthetic excitement which is provided by planned propaganda. The tortures of "1984," as administered by the "Ministry of Love," have not as yet proved necessary in the United States. The American public proved more susceptible to simple brainwashing through propaganda than Orwell could imagine, although he was himself a veteran propagandist on the BBC. Orwellian doublethinking has enabled the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations to formulate

and enforce mutually contradictory policies, and the "crimestop" technique of the Orwellian semantic system prevents the public, and many of its leaders, from thinking through any program or proclamation. A policy of perpetual war for perpetual peace does not appear unreasonable or illogical to the American public. Thus far, the propaganda carried on by our "Ministry of Truth," with the almost unanimous aid of our press, has been sufficient to maintain popular support of the Cold War.

It is obvious that such a brainwashed and excited public is not likely to concern itself seriously with facts and writings that are designed to discredit warfare and furnish a solid basis for substantial peace. It should be about like expecting desert sheiks to concentrate on books devoted to water polo or outboard motorboat racing. The public mind has become all but impenetrable on such matters. In the mid-1920's, for the Allies to deride Uncle Sam as "Uncle Shylock" relative to a paltry 12 billion dollars of war debts made Americans so angry that they were willing to listen to Revisionist conclusions. In the mid-1950's, even such flagrantly offensive and ungrateful gestures as "Yanks Go Home," after the United States had poured tens of thousands of lives and over 65 billion dollars of foreign aid appropriations and the public appeared to approve. Congressmen like John Taber, who for years had sought to kill as many appropriations as possible which were devoted to the effort to create a better life here at home, proclaimed that foreign aid was so important that it transcended the considerations of restraint, thrift and economy which they had so long demanded of appropriations to be used within our own borders.

The Fearful Fifties

Another explanation of the antipathy or indifference of the public to Revisionism since 1945 is to be found in the sharply contrasting intellectual atmosphere of the 1920's and of the period since 1945. Conditions in the 1920's and early 1930's were the most conducive to independent and fearless thought of any decade in modern American history. This was the period of Mencken and Nathan, of the height

of the popularity of H.G. Wells. It was an era when James Harvey Robinson's *Mind in the Making* could become a best seller and Thorstein Veblen was the most respected American economist. Since 1945, we have run into a period of intellectual conformity unmatched since the supreme power and unity of the Catholic Church at the height of the Middle Ages. Between the pressures exerted by the Orwellian cold-war system and those which are equally powerful in the civilian or commercial world, intellectual individuality and independence have all but disappeared. In this era of *Nineteen Eighty-four*, "The Organization Man," "The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit," the "Hidden Persuaders," and "Madison Avenue," even the average American college graduate is no more inclined to independent thinking than was a Catholic peasant during the papacy of Innocent III.

Another reason for the unprecedented resistance of Revisionism after the second World War is the fact that the liberals and radicals, who became the shocktroops and spearhead of Revisionism in the 1920's, have since 1945 been overwhelmingly the chief opponents of any acceptance of Revisionist facts and conclusions. They were the leaders of the war party in Britain, France and the United States for months or years before 1939 and 1941, and they have never recanted. Although most of the prominent liberals heartily supported Wilson's war after 1917, they were completely disillusioned by the "Peace" Treaty and led the Revisionist parade after 1919. Especially notable were Herbert Croly and his editorial associates on the *New Republic*. They recanted, but plenty. Oswald Garrison Villard and most of his associates on the *Nation* did not need to recant, for they had never supported American intervention in 1917 with any enthusiasm.

"The Facts Be Damned"

A leading reason why the liberals and radicals have been unable to revise their pre-war views and attitudes is that their hatred of Hitler and Mussolini has been just too great to permit them to accept any facts, however well established, that might to any degree diminish the guilt with which these men were charged from 1939 onward—or from 1935, for that matter. In such a case, "facts can be dam-

ned." There was no comparable pre-war hatred of Stalin on their part for them to have to live down. The hatred of Hitler has been especially bitter among some minority groups that were notably enthusiastic about the Revisionism that followed the first World War.

Indeed, the aversion to setting down any historical facts that might present the diplomacy of Hitler and Mussolini in any more favorable light than that of wartime appears to have extended to most Revisionists of today, even to those of a conservative temperament. After the first World War, most of the Revisionist historical writing was on the European background of August, 1914. There were only three important Revisionist books written on the American entry into the War—those by Tansill, Grattan and Millis, while there were a score or more on the European situation published in Europe and the United States. The first definitive book on American entry, Tansill's *America Goes to War*, did not appear until 1938, ten years after Fay's *Origins of the World War*.

After the second World War, all of the Revisionist books written by American authors have dealt chiefly with American entry into the War. There has not been a Revisionist book or a substantial Revisionist article which sets forth the truth about 1939. The nearest approach is the able and informed treatment of the European background in Tansill's classic *Back Door to War*, but this book is devoted primarily to the American entry into the War. Either aversion to even the slightest mitigation of the wartime indictment of Hitler and Mussolini, or fear of the results, appears to have prevented even Revisionists in both the United States and Europe from having systematically tackled the crisis of 1939 in nearly twenty years after the events.

In the light of the fact that, earlier in this article, I have summarized the Revisionist conclusions about responsibility for the outbreak of the wars in 1939, it may legitimately be asked how I know about such matters if no definitive book has yet been published on this subject. All that I have stated is sustained by Professor Tansill's *Back Door to War*. But there has also recently been completed a detailed treatment of the 1939 crisis by a superbly equipped scholar. This book will rank with the monumental work of Professor Fay on 1914. I have read this manuscript with great care and

thoroughness. As a work of scholarship, it was approved by the most illustrious history department in the world today. The remaining problem is one of publication.

The anti-interventionist groups of 1937 and thereafter, like America First, were primarily conservative and for the most part welcomed the early Revisionist publications. But they soon fell in line with the Cold War because of the business advantages in industry, trade and finance which an extravagant armament program provided. Thereafter, they feared or refused to give any open support, financial or otherwise, to a scholarly movement which undermined the cold-war assumptions as thoroughly as it did the interventionist mythology of 1939-1941. Hence, Revisionism since 1947 has not only been unpopular or ignored but also poverty-stricken. On the other hand, the rich foundations have given lavish aid to the writing of anti-Revisionist books. About \$150,000 was given to aid the publication of the Langer and Gleason volumes, the most impressive effort to whitewash the diplomatic record of Roosevelt and Churchill.

Other factors have led to the almost incredible obstruction of Revisionism since 1945. The excessive "security" policies and measures which have been adopted under the cold-war system have greatly increased fear and timidity on the part of public officials, scholars and general public. Since Revisionism logically challenged the whole fabric of American public policy since Pearl Harbor, it was precarious to espouse it. It has become dangerous to work for peace except through war. The press, naturally, prefers the emotion-provoking frame of reference of a Cold War to the prosaic scholarship of Revisionism. In the 1920's, the press was congenial to Revisionism because it buttressed our prevailing public policies relative to reparations, war debts, isolationism, disarmament, neutrality and the like. Today, Revisionism challenges the honesty, intelligence, and integrity of our basic foreign policies by its devastating revelation of the disastrous results of our martial world-meddling since 1937.

Especially important is the difficulty in having Revisionist books published under auspices likely to arouse public interest and knowledge and in getting them presented to the reading public honestly and effectively. There have only

been two publishers, and these relatively small ones, which have consistently published Revisionist books: the Henry Regnery Company in Chicago; and the Devin-Adair Company in New York City. Only five other small publishers have produced a Revisionist book—one book only in each of these cases save for the Yale University Press, which brought out both of Beard's volumes because the director was a close friend and great admirer of Beard. University presses have found it precarious to indulge in Revisionist publication; W.T.Couch, the able head of the University of Chicago Press, was dismissed primarily because he published so peripheral a Revisionist volume as A. Frank Reel's admirable book, *The Case of General Yamashita*.

Not one large commercial publisher in the United States has brought out a single substantial and literal Revisionist book since Pearl Harbor. This stands out in sharp contrast to the attitude of publishers toward Revisionist volumes in the 1920's and early 1930's. The largest publishers were then very eager to get such books. Professor Fay's classic work was published by the Macmillan Company, and the monumental two-volume work of John S. Ewart by Doran. Alfred Knopf published my *Genesis* and a veritable library of Revisionist books in the 1920's, but in 1953 he refused even to consider such a mild and restrained Revisionist book as Professor Current's scholarly study of the public career of Secretary Henry L. Stimson.

There are a number of obvious reasons why the big publishers shy away from Revisionist books today. In the first place, they are American citizens and, for reasons already discussed, like most of their fellow Americans, they dislike giving up their pre-war and war-time convictions, emotions, hatreds and prejudices; most of them just do not like Revisionists and Revisionism. Further, knowing that Revisionism is publicly unpopular, they realize that Revisionist books are not likely to sell well; hence, Revisionist publication is relatively poor business. Moreover, those publishers who may privately espouse Revisionism and would like to see some Revisionist books published, even if they had to do it with slight profit or even a small loss, just cannot consider a Revisionist book on its own merits or by itself alone. They have to take into account its possible effect on the general publishing trade and the book-buying

public. The loss that they could sustain through merely publishing a Revisionist volume might be nothing as compared to what they would lose by the unfortunate impression such publication might make or from the retaliation which might follow.

Fear of the Book Clubs

They are especially alarmed at the possible retaliation at the hands of the various book clubs, since all the powerful ones are tightly controlled by those groups and interests most hostile to Revisionism today. William Henry Chamberlin's *America's Second Crusade* is the one Revisionist treatment of the second World War which is admirable suited for popular sale and reading. It is precisely comparable to Walter Millis' *Road to War* on our entry into the first World War. The Millis book was a Book-of-the-Club selection and sold by the hundreds of thousands. The head of one of the largest publishing houses in the world knew and liked Chamberlin, admired his book, and personally would have liked to publish it. But he held, quite understandably, that he did not feel that he could do so in the light of his responsibilities to his stockholders. As he put it, if he published the Chamberlin book, his company probably would not get another Book-of-the-Month-Club adoption in a decade. The Chamberlin book was published by Henry Regnery.

A comparison of its fate with that of the Millis *Road to War* is instructive. Macy's, in New York City, ordered fifty copies of the Chamberlin book and returned forty as "unsold." If it could have been handled on its merits, surely five or six thousand copies would have been sold. A year after the date of publication, there was still not a copy of the book in the New York Public Library or any of its branches. Revisionist books are virtually boycotted, so far as sales to the general run of public libraries are concerned. The woman who exerts a greater influence upon library book orders than any other person in the United States is violently anti-Revisionist. She sees to it that Revisionist books are either ignored or smeared in her advice to librarians seeking guidance as to purchases.

Even when Revisionist books get into stores, clerks frequently refuse to display them and, in some cases, even lie

about their availability. In the book department of America's outstanding store, a woman sought to purchase a copy of the most widely read Revisionist book. The clerk told her decisively that the supply was exhausted and no copies were available. The customer suspected that she was lying and was able to get the head of the store to make an investigation. It was found that over fifty copies were hidden under the counter and that the clerk knew that this was the case. The head of the store was so outraged that he ordered the book department to make a special display of the hitherto concealed book.

The leading magazines are just as reluctant to publish Revisionist articles as the great commercial publishers are to publish any Revisionist books. This is also is complete contrast to the situation in the 1920's when the editors of the better periodicals were eager to get authoritative articles by leading Revisionism in the 1920's and early 1930's were solicited by the editors. So far as I know this was true of other Revisionist writers. But not a substantial Revisionist article has been printed in a popular and powerful American periodical since Pearl Harbor. The reasons for editorial allergy to Revisionist articles are the same as those that affect the heads of the large commercial publishing houses relative to Revisionist books.

Incredible as it may seem, not only publishers but even printers have sought to suppress Revisionist material. When I presented a restrained brochure, based on extensive research and designed to set forth the basic facts about the military and political career of Marshal Petain, to a printing firm in New York City, the printers refused to put the material into type unless it was approved by the censorship department of one of the most powerful and vehemently anti-Revisionist minority groups in the country. Whereupon, I took the copy to a leading upstate New York printing firm which was not accessible to this form of pressure. The episode reminded one of the pre-publication censorship which existed back in the days of Copernicus.

Fate of the Reviews

The handicaps imposed on Revisionist books are not limited to the difficulties of publication and distribution.

When these books are published they have usually been ignored, obscured or smeared. They have rarely been given decent notice or honest reviews, even if the opinion of the reviewer might be unfavorable. As one of the leading blackout organizations has advised its agents, it is preferable to ignore a book entirely if one wishes to assure killing its distribution and influence. Even a viciously unfair review will at least call attention to the volume and may arouse some curiosity and interest. To ignore it completely will do more than anything else to consign it to oblivion. Under the editorship of Guy Stanton Ford, it was the announced policy of the *American Historical Review* not to review "controversial" volumes, but, upon careful examination, it turned out that "controversial" meant "Revisionist." The most controversial anti-Revisionist books in the field were given good position and reviews as long as those usually accorded to books of comparable importance.

When Revisionist books are actually listed and reviewed, they are usually given an obscure position, often in the book notes. This was the case with Dr. Luigi Villari's book on *Italian Foreign Policy under Mussolini*. Although it was a book of major importance in diplomatic history—the only authoritative volume which had appeared on the subject—and the author was the most distinguished living authority in the field, the book was consigned to the book note section of the *American Historical Review*, and outrageously smeared. It should be pointed out, in fairness, that since Dr. Boyd C. Shafer succeeded Dr. Ford as editor, Revisionist books have been given a somewhat more decent treatment in the *American Historical Review*. Space limitations do not permit me to cite here in detail the fate of the leading Revisionist books at the hands of scholarly periodicals, and the book review sections of leading periodicals, and the newspapers. I have gone into this matter at length in the first chapter of *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*.

The essence of the situation is that no matter how many Revisionist books are produced, how high their quality, or how sensational their revelations, they will have no effect on the American public until this public learns of the existence, nature and importance of Revisionist literature. That they have not been able to do so as yet is obvious, and the obstacles that have thus far proved effective have not been

reduced to any noticeable extent. It is for this reason that honest historians and publicists will welcome the apparent desire of the editors of *Liberation* to open its columns to a discussion of Revisionism and to the revelation of its import for the public welfare of the country. It is the first step which has been taken in this direction in a liberal magazine since Pearl Harbor.

Favoritism

Thus far I have dealt almost exclusively with the private or non-official efforts to obscure the truth relative to the causes and results of the second World War. The official censorship has been as unrelenting and in many ways more shocking. Those who publish official documents do not have to be restrained by considerations of profit and loss. More than a decade ago, Charles Austin Beard blasted the procedure of the State Department in its tendency to permit historians favorable to the official foreign policy to use the public documents rather freely, while denying such access to anybody suspected of Revisionist sympathies. This led to some momentary relaxation of censorship, and it was fortunate that Professor Tansill was able to carry on much of his research at this time. But soon the censorship and restrictions returned full force.

The Republicans promised drastic reform of this abuse when they came into power in 1953, but they failed to implement these assurances and, under Secretary Dulles, the scandal grew to far greater proportions than under Democratic auspices. The same historical advisor, Dr. G. Bernard Noble, was continued in the service and actually promoted to be Director of the Historical Division of the State Department. He was a Democrat, a Rhodes scholar, and known to be one of the most frenzied advocates of our intervention in the second World War among all American social scientists and an implacable enemy of Revisionism.

In May, 1953, the State Department promised that all records of the international conferences during the second World War would be ready for publication within a year and that all other documents on the period since 1939 would be speedily published.

Nothing was done until the spring of 1955, when the

documents on the Yalta Conference were finally published. It was evident, and soon proved, that these had been garbled and censored in flagrant fashion. Two able members of the historical staff of the Department, Dr. Bryton Barron and Dr. Donald Dozer, protested against this suppression and garbling of documents. Noble forced Barron into premature retirement without pay and discharged Dozer. The latter was reinstated by the Civil Service Commission, but Noble was able to get him discharged a second time—and this time permanently. Barron had been assigned to compile the material bearing on the Yalta Conference, and Dozer that on the Cairo-Teheran Conferences. Only one other publication has since been produced, some incomplete documents on 1939. This appeared during the last year and was also censored and garbled.

In the meantime, some 37 volumes dealing with our foreign policy since 1939 were collected and made ready for publication. But nothing was sent to the printer and, in the spring of 1958, the State Department blandly announced that it did not propose to publish any of these volumes in the predictable future. It gave as the reason the assertion that publication might possibly offend some persons among our NATO allies. To give this amazing procedure some semblance of historical authority, the State Department had appointed a hand-picked committee in 1957 to advise the Department on publication. The personnel of the committee, which did not contain one Revisionist historian, assured that the right advice would be turned in. The chairman was none other than Professor Dexter Perkins, admittedly a jolly and affable historical politician, but also one of the half-dozen outstanding and unremitting opponents of Revisionist scholarship in this country. The committee dutifully reported that publication of any of the 37 volumes lying on the shelves awaiting the government printers would not be politically expedient.

When Dr. Barron appeared before a Senatorial committee to protest against the censorship and delays, he was allowed only eleven minutes to testify, although witnesses supporting the official censorship were allowed ample time. As one of the abler editorial writers in the country commented, quite correctly: "Such a record of concealment and duplicity is unparalleled. Its only counterpart is the

'memory hole' in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, where an authoritarian regime of the future was depicted as disposing of all document and facts that failed to fit into the current party line." All this is hardly consistent with the assumed role of the United States as the leader of the "Free Nations" or with our bitter condemnation of the Russians for censoring their official documents.

There are, of course, some vital official documents dealing with the onset of the second World War that the Government has never even dreamed of publishing at any time and are so full of dynamite that not even historians engaged in whitewashing the official record are allowed to use them. Such are the so-called "Kent Documents," namely, the nearly 2000 secret messages illegally exchanged in the American code between Churchill and Roosevelt from September, 1939, onward. Churchill, himself, has frankly told us that these documents contain most of the really vital facts about the collaboration between him and Roosevelt in their joint efforts to bring the United States into the War. When the most impressive historical effort to whitewash the Roosevelt-Churchill record was about to be undertaken, Churchill threatened the principal author with a court suit if he made use of these "Kent Documents."

The suppression of documents relative to responsibility for the second World War extends, of course, far beyond all Anglo-American activities and relations. When the Communists and Socialists in Russia, Germany and Austria published their archives following 1918 in order to discredit the old imperial regimes, this forced the British and French ultimately to do the same. Eventually, scholars had virtually all the factual material at their disposal.

Nothing like this has been possible after the second World War. The victorious Allied Powers, chiefly Britain and the United States, captured the German and Italian archives, except for some of the more vital Italian materials which the Italian Communists destroyed, with Allied connivance, when they captured and murdered Mussolini. Today, Germany and Italy could not publish all their documents even if they wished to do so, for they do not possess them. Some have been returned to Italy, and the Germans have been promised theirs. But one may be sure than any material which seriously reflects on the United States and

Britian will not be included. Publication thus far has been limited to what the American and British authorities have seen fit to release, and there is no evidence that it has been any more fully and honestly presented than the documents on the Yalta Conference. Nor can the Germans and Italians be expected to publish anything likely to modify the wartime indictment of Hitler and Mussolini. Unlike the Weimar Republic, the Adenauer Government is vigorously opposed to Revisionist scholarship and publication. The same is true of the Italian Government.

The main import of all this official censorship is that the Revisionist verdict relative to responsibility for the second World War is far less drastic than it will be if and when all the documents are available. If the documents now suppressed in such abundance and with such thoroughness would lessen the already severe indictment of the wartime leaders, elementary logic and strategy support the assumption that they would have been published long before the present moment in order to modify or eliminate the severe judgments already set forth in existing Revisionist volumes.

One paradox should be noted relative to the status and results of Revisionism after the two World Wars. After the first World War, the Revisionist verdict as to the responsibility for the war was very generally accepted by scholars and intelligent public leaders, but little was done about it in the way of revising the European post-war system that had been based on the lies and propaganda of wartime. If the logical steps had been taken to revise the post-war treaties while the German Republic was in existence, it is unlikely that Hitler would ever have risen to power in Germany, that there would ever have been any second World War, or that any Cold War would have come on its heels. After the second World War, while the facts brought forth by Revisionism as to the responsibility for the War have been ignored, indeed, are virtually unknown to the publics among the victorious Allies, there has been an almost complete revision of public policy toward our former enemies. Both Germany and Japan have been almost forcibly rearmed and given extensive material aid so that they can now function as allies against our former ally, Soviet Russia. One can imagine the outcry if, say in 1925, we had insisted that Germany and Austria must re-arm to the hilt

and we had expressed our determination to enable them to do so.

Any such situation as has taken place since 1945 could only be possible in an era of Orwellian double-thinking and "crimestop." We spent about 400 billion dollars to destroy Germany and Japan and, after their destruction, we have poured in more billions to restore their military power. If it were conceivable that we could fight a third world war without exterminating all the participants, we might envisage a situation where, after destroying Russia, we proceeded to give her billions to rebuild her fighting power to defend us against China and India.

One lesson that Revisionism might teach us is that we should learn from it public attitudes which could protect us against repeated folly and tragedy. The eminent philosopher, John Dewey, told a friend of mine that if he had not been so wrong in his attitude toward the first World War (as exemplified by his *German Philosophy and Politics*), he might have succumbed to the propaganda that led us into the Second World War. But publics appear to profit less by experience than pragmatic philosophers. They seem to vindicate Hegel's classic observation that the only lesson that history teaches us is that we learn nothing from history. In an age of hydrogen bombs, intercontinental guided missiles, terrifyingly lethal chemical and bacterial warfare, and pushbutton military technology, we shall have to do better than the publics of Hegel's time if we are to have any prospect of survival or of attaining such a degree of peace, security, and well-being as would justify survival. But the American public can hardly learn any lesson from Revisionism if it does not even know that it exists, to say nothing of its content and implications.

Unless and until we can break through the historical blackout, now supported even by public policy, and enable the peoples of the world to know the facts concerning international relations during the last quarter of a century, there can be no real hope for the peace, security and prosperity which the present triumphs of science and technology could make possible. The well-being of the human race, if not its very survival, is very literally dependent on the triumph of Revisionism.

Book Reviews

THE HOLOCAUST AND THE HISTORIANS, by Lucy S. Dawidowicz,
Harvard University Press, 187pp, \$15.00, ISBN 0-674-40566-8.

"What, in sanctifying the Holocaust, do Jews not want to know about that grim era?" (Quoted from "The Holocaust, and the Myth of the Past as History," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter, 1980, Dr. Howard F. Stein)

Mrs. Lucy S. Dawidowicz' *The Holocaust and the Historians* is remarkable more for what it does not say than for the actual content of this meager book. In a recent review in the *New York Times*, John Leonard characterized Mrs. Dawidowicz' work "confused." Confused it is—and evasive.

Except for a brief footnote on Arthur R. Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, which Mrs. Dawidowicz calls an "overtly anti-Semitic work," there is no mention of the significant writings of Faurisson, Rassinier and Felderer. Instead, Mrs. Dawidowicz refers readers to her tacky *Commentary* article, "Lies About the Holocaust," again smearing Revisionist historians as "neo-Nazi."

In spite of the fact that we are almost literally bombarded night and day, week after week in the newspapers and mass media with various aspects of the Holocaust myth, Mrs. Dawidowicz is fearful that the history of the alleged six million murdered Jews will be obliterated from the face of the earth. And in order to sanctify this supposed unique aspect of suffering, Mrs. Dawidowicz makes a supreme effort to downplay the horrors of Hiroshima, Dresden and Vietnam. It is as if to say "Our suffering has more meaning than yours," as Dr. Howard F. Stein states in his courageous *Journal of Historical Review* article cited above.

Mrs. Dawidowicz uses the opportunity given her in this book to jump on the "anti-Hannah Arendt" bandwagon. Hannah Arendt, probably the most brilliant of Jewish essayists, had the effrontery to infuriate the Jewish establishment by her critical comments on the role of the Judenrate and such people as the Rothschilds in the undoing of their people. The Ghetto bureaucrats and "court bankers," according to Hannah Arendt, profited from the govern-

ments, misguided the Jewish masses and were the actual agents of anti-Semitism!

The student wishing to find some information on the origins of the wars of this century will find this book of little value. Indeed the destruction of the culture of Ashkenazic Jewry was a great tragedy, but one can find few clues as to how this might have been averted in Mrs. Dawidowicz' work.

What is missing in *The Holocaust and the Historians* are the First and Second acts. The barrage of anti-German propaganda in the thirties and the battle for a negotiated peace in 1944 are two subjects that would bear further investigation by our historians. A negotiated peace in 1944 would surely have saved many Jewish (and other) lives! Reading history through the Third act is well for Mrs. Dawidowicz but it obviously will not do for those of us who wish to avoid future wars and future "holocausts."

Mrs. Dawidowicz makes much of the writings of Fritz Fisher in an effort to bolster her theory of the "continuity" of German history and the idea of "Germany As the Aggressor Throughout the Ages." It is remarkable that such nonsense can still be taken seriously. Fischer's thesis has been demolished elsewhere but the corpse of "unique German culpability" still has not been interred.

In criticizing Mrs. Dawidowicz' latest work this reviewer would like to point out a defect of both Revisionist and anti-Revisionist writing. To a point we should attempt to make a more accurate location of who the "good-guys" and "bad-guys" were in the historical process. But most Revisionists and anti-Revisionists understand nothing whatever what the forces are which cause different people or "historical personages" to act the way they do. Only a few think in this frame of reference. Proudhon once said, "Not to the man, legislator, or prince do we look for the meaning of his acts, but to the acts themselves," implying that the actors in any historical event did not understand what motivated them, except from an extremely short-range view. They had little or no comprehension whatever of the larger evolutionary course of events. In this respect more intense study by Revisionists of the American and European individualist anarchists (or libertarian socialists) and the writings of some of the psychohistorians-Howard F. Stein, Henry Ebel, George Kren, and David R. Beisel would be very useful in addition to the writings of Lawrence Dennis and C.H. Douglas.

The Holocaust and the Historians however has some "tidbits" which unintentionally substantiate Revisionist interpretations. In a revealing footnote Mrs. Dawidowicz states:

"Many thousands of oral histories by survivors recounting their experiences exist in libraries and archives around the world. Their quality and usefulness vary significantly according to the informant's memory, grasp of events, insights, and of course accuracy. Also important in determining the quality of the account is the interviewer's ability to pursue lines of inquiry that elicit information that has been subconsciously or deliberately suppressed or that supplements an already accumulated body of information on a given subject or place. The longer the time elapsed, the less likely that the informant has retained freshness of recollection or can offer new information. The transcribed testimonies I have examined have been full of errors in dates, names of participants, and places, and there are evident misunderstandings of the events themselves. To the unwary researcher, some of the accounts can be more hazard than help."

It is encouraging to know that at long last many intellectuals of Jewish origin (such as John-Gabriel Cohn Bendit, Claude Karnooh, Jacob Assous) are beginning to recognize the real nature of the Holocaust—"that Nazism is indeed the bogeyman used by the liberal democracies to obtain the submission of their populations."

Mrs. Dawidowicz' book comes after a year of unremitting attack and smear of The Institute for Historical Review, Liberty Lobby, The Spotlight, beginning with Mrs. Dawidowicz' own article in *Commentary*, continuing with Paul Berman's vicious diatribe in *Village Voice* (N.Y.), and articles in *Los Angeles Magazine* and *New Republic* (Mark Hosenball). These hatchet jobs completely fail to come to grips with the substance of the Revisionist argument. The alleged "racism," "anti-Semitism" of all "Willis Carto-associated" publications and organizations is repeatedly used to stifle all Revisionist argument, and indeed an attempt is being made now to smear the Serge Thion-libertarian socialist group in France with the same "anti-Semitic" brush. It may very well be that general acceptance of Revisionist interpretations will have to wait until the year 2050. If so, the lessons will be very costly. The prime nootles of civilization created the appropriate conditions for Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler and later, a veritable mass of petty dictators (of both Fascist and Socialist-Communist variety) in the 1946-1981 period.

While America grovels under the yoke of Volcker and the infamous Federal Reserve System, a vast military-industrial complex, organized crime, cowardly and venal politicians, and the disintegration of safety and public order in our cities we are still preoccupied with the fantasies of "internationalism," notwithstanding the complete and utter failure of liberal-conservative policy since 1917, a policy in which a small, entrenched

financial elite has made tremendous gains at the expense of the many. Mrs. Dawidowicz' latest opus is just one more "brief for the Establishment."

—Bezalel Chaim

BY BLOOD AND FIRE, by Thurston Clarke, G.P.Putnam's Sons, Hb, \$12.95.

In these days of erotic fiction and strange "documentaries" on the market, it is rewarding to read an excellant non-fiction book on a little known subject that hasn't been widely documented.

By Blood and Fire is virtually a scenario of one of the most contemptible acts of unmitigated murder by terrorism of the Twentieth Century; the deliberate bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, 22 July 1946.

Author Thurston Clarke, who's other literary credits are *The Last Caravan* and *Dirty Money*, has done a masterful job in research of a painful subject that places the blame for this horrible terrorist attack on the present Prime Minister of Israel, Menahem Begin.

At just past noon on 22 July 1946, six members of Begin's Irgun zvai leumi crept into the basement entrance of the King David Hotel, placed seven steel milk churns filled with gelignite and TNT in the popular Regency Bar and blew up the entire south wing of the hotel, killing 91 British civil servants, Arabs and Jews and wounding 46.

The reasoning behind such an act is as strange as the acts of terrorism committed by Jews and Arabs in Palestine today. What these murders accomplish seems to be a mute question. Any mention of this bombing attack to Prime Minister Begin today brings on stoney silence accompanied by a statement, "they were given a warning beforehand."

Much of the value of this book lies in the chronology; the time table of events by these "soldiers" of the terrorist Irgun, and goes into detail how Begin, the commander-in-chief of the Irgun, disregarded the pleas of the Haganah and the powerful "X Committee" and even Dr. Chaim Weizmann the chief Zionist of the entire Isreli movement, not to engage in an act of terrorism against the British "caretakers" of Palestine.

The six story King David Hotel in Jerusalem was one of the most popular meeting places in the city. The British administrative offices were in the south wing of the hotel and those employed were innocent British civil servants including 17 Jews, all of whom were murdered in the tremendous blast.

It is difficult to understand the rationale of such an act, except to remember that the Arabs outnumbered the Jews over the years

and it is still an enigma as to "whom does Palestine belong to?"

Because of all the Arab and Jewish unrest in 1939 when thousands of Jews "emigrated" to Israel, the caretaker Government of Great Britain issued a White Paper stating that "no more than 75,000 Jews would be allowed to immigrate into Palestine in the coming 5 years." This declaration was as unpopular to the resident Arabs as the invading Jews, and brought about terrorism towards the British from Jew and Arab alike.

Following Hitler's passage of the law allowing German nationals to repurchase their commercial and residential property at the same price they were forced to sell to wealthy Jews after World War I, the German Jews were stripped of their financial power and left Germany in droves to immigrate into Palestine against the wishes of the British Government.

Thurston Clarke walks a tightrope depicting the objectives of both Arabs and Jews as well as British interests. He takes no sides and makes use of documented evidence and eye witness accounts of the bombing.

Excellent photographs, maps and diagrams are included in the book, available in selected bookstores and in many public libraries.

— W.R. Silberstein

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S ROLE IN SOVIET STRATEGY, by Josef Kalvoda, University Press of America, Pb, 382pp, \$9.75.

The author, a professional historian, was born in Czechoslovakia in 1923, left the CSR in 1948, has been living in the USA since 1951 and presently teaches at St. Joseph's College in West Hartford, Conn.

Prof. Kalvoda has given us a meticulous and scholarly account of the Soviet takeover of Czechoslovakia. Kalvoda plowed through piles of notes, documents and books mainly of Czech, but also of Russian, Austrian and German origin. The 82 pages of bibliography are extremely valuable.

The author begins in 1914, when Czech and Slovak contingents of the Austrian army at the Russian front shot their Austrian officers and defected to the Russian enemy. In the same year, Thomas G. Masaryk, later president of Czechoslovakia, made his first contact with British authorities, seeking support in his drive for Czech independence. The British Government preferred an independent Czech state to one attached to the Russian empire. Three years later, the British sent Masaryk to Russia to organize a Czech Legion there from 250,000 Czech and Slovak defectors in that country. Masaryk immediately asserted himself as Commander-in-Chief of a 50,000 man legion which he put under French command, a purely theoretical arrangement, since the

Legion never arrived on the Western front.

The history of this Czech Legion is described in detail. One is astonished to learn, that in May 1918, Leon Trotzky, following higher orders, tried to incorporate these Czechoslovaks into the Red army and assorted labor groups. Some American and British leaders wished that these men could have helped them in their effort to defeat the Bolsheviks, but Masaryk held stubbornly to his policy of neutrality towards the Bolsheviks and even suggested that the Allies recognize the Red regime. Thus, Masaryk was one of the first politicians to bolster Bolshevism.

Eduard Benesh, portrayed by Kalvoda as a liar, cheater, and weak character, was another self-appointed politician who played a leading role in bringing the CSR into the Bolshevik fold: a "quartermaster of Communism in Central Europe." Or as chancellor Smutny called him: "The greatest Machiavelli of our time." (It is known, for example, that Benesh during the negotiations for the 1919 Treaty of St. Germain presented a forged map, which minimized the German population to be incorporated into the new CSR from 3.5 Million inhabitants to 1.2 Million.)

Benesh was cold-shouldered by the other Czech exiles, but with Russian help, managed to assert himself as their leader and while in Washington in May 1943, he assured F.D. Roosevelt of Soviet harmlessness and trustworthiness. When planning for the post-war Czechoslovakia, Benesh, in agreement with British and American authorities, originally intended to make concessions in favor of Germany. It was Stalin, who, in Dec. 1943, told him that he wanted Germany completely weakened and suggested that Sudeten Germans (as well as Hungarians) be evicted from the CSR. As Benesh put it later: "The transfer of the German property will be the beginning of a great social transformation."

Kalvoda's descriptions and analysis are excellent. He shows that Benesh was the main grave-digger of an independent Czechoslovakia. Yet, in his final conclusion he fails to emphasize the full implications which the expulsion of 3.5 Million Sudeten Germans had on the country: namely the permanent protection by "Big Brother" against any possible "justice seeking" by Sudeten Germans that might occur in the future.

Furthermore, I cannot agree with Kalvoda's assertions that Czechoslovakia between 1918-38 had a "strong democratic tradition." Aside from the fact that the Sudeten German, Hungarian, Polish, and Ukrainian minorities were completely outmaneuvered in the Czech parliament, incidents like the machine-gunning of peaceful demonstrators in Troppau and Kaaden on 4 March 1919, which left 54 dead and 107 wounded, were a far cry from "democratic traditions!"

— W.K.F. Schuldes

DEFEAT IN THE EAST: Russia Conquers—January to May 1945. by Juergen Thorwald, edited and translated by Fred Wieck, Bantam Books. Pb, 292pp with maps and drawings, \$2.50, ISBN 0-553-13469-8.

Most of the actual fighting during the Second World War took place on the Eastern Front between the Soviet Union and Germany and her allies. The last stages of the war in the East are vividly described by the German journalist and historian, Juergen Thorwald. In *Defeat in the East*, Thorwald traces the military debacle of the Third Reich and shows what happened to the civilian population wherever the Red Army conquered.

The author participated in the rescue of refugees in eastern Germany and interviewed civilian and military survivors of the final collapse. On the basis of his own experience and interviews, as well as documentation available in the immediate post-war period, Thorwald was able to reconstruct a story that is still little known in the West. The book at hand is a translation based on a two-volume German work of more than seven hundred and fifty pages. It first appeared in an English language edition in 1951, under the title *Flight in Winter*, published by Pantheon Books, and has recently been reprinted as one of the titles in the popular Bantam War Books Series.

At the beginning of June 1944, Axis troops still controlled much Russian territory. Later that month, two hundred twenty-five Soviet infantry and armored divisions smashed through German Army Group Center, comprised of forty understrength divisions. On 23 August 1944, Romania left the Axis and the Red Army drove on into Hungary. People of German descent caught in the Russian steamroller were tortured, murdered, or deported. Refugees streamed into Austria.

By late fall, General Heinz Guderian, Chief of the German Army General Staff, managed to scrape together fourteen divisions of reserves for deployment against the Russians. They were instead frittered away in Hitler's fruitless December offensive in the Ardennes. When the new Russian drive commenced during the second week of January 1945, the German front lines disintegrated.

In almost every German settlement, village, or town where the Red Army advanced, the Russian troops engaged in an orgy of rape, murder, looting, and deportation. Women over seventy and girls under twelve were gang-raped, drafted for forced labor, and the healthier ones frequently rounded up, packed into cattlecars and transported to Russia. For over three years, the Communist propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg had promised Red Army troops the German women as their booty. Soviet officers often read to their soldiers Ehrenburg's enjoinder to: "Kill, Red Army men, Kill! No fascist is innocent, be he alive, be he as yet unborn."

Kill!" As one eyewitness to the events reported, "It seemed as though the devil himself had come to Silesia. The 'Mongol barbarism of the Asiatic plains' had come not in a propaganda phrase but in the flesh. From January into April there raged a seemingly planless regime of looting, rape, and murder. Every German was fair game, all German property booty."

But the wholesale acts of atrocity committed against the German civilian populations of Eastern Europe were not planless. Instead, they were part of a preconceived plan designed to drive out all Germans and annex areas to the Soviet Union and pro-Soviet Poland. When the British and Americans bombed the defenseless Saxon capital of Dresden on 13-14 February 1945, killing thousands of the civilians who had sought refuge there, it appeared to be a further implementation of an Allied plan. During the December Ardennes offensive, the Germans captured enemy documents concerning Operation "Eclipse," codename of the notorious design inspired by U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, which called for the destruction of the German nation following the allied victory.

Although the Soviets and their Western Allies had complete control of the air and held vast superiority in ground forces, the Germans tenaciously fought on. Boys of twelve and over from the Hitler Youth were given hasty lessons in the use of rifles, machineguns, or Panzerfausts (a bazooka-like anti-tank weapon), and sent to the shrinking front lines, often joining the elderly men of the Volksturm (People's Militia). German military commanders continued to offer resistance in the East wherever such action served to cover the escape of the refugees. As they retreated, the Germans tried, with varying success, to surrender to British and American forces.

Thorwald discusses efforts by members of Hitler's entourage to negotiate with the West in order to end the fighting against the Anglo-Americans and concentrate their remaining resources on resisting the Russians. Following Hitler's suicide, his successor, Admiral Karl Doenitz, issued a proclamation which summarized his goal, "My first task is to save the German people from destruction by the Bolshevik enemy. Fighting continues only to serve this one purpose. Only so far as this purpose is being opposed by the Americans and the English, only so far will we have to defend ourselves against them also."

Doenitz attempted to bring about a partial surrender on the Western Front, but the Allied Supreme Commander, General Eisenhower, demanded unconditional surrender to all the Allies simultaneously. Having no alternative, the Doenitz government capitulated in early May.

For many in Eastern Europe, VE Day did not end their suffering. The author recounts the fate of the Germans living in

Czechoslovakia who were tortured and often murdered until the last of them fled the country. Germans were not the only ones victimized: Russian POWs, some of them members of General Vlassov's Army and Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, were arrested as henchmen of Hitler and turned over to the Soviets.

Juergen Thorwald has drawn attention to a topic that has been played down in the post-war years. Defeat in the East should be read in company with Alfred de Zayas' *Nemesis at Potsdam* and Nikolai Tolstoy's *The Secret Betrayal* (available from the IHR at \$9.00 and \$16.00 respectively, reviewed in JHR #4, Winter 1980), which describe in detail the post-war torments suffered by Germans and Russians at the hands of the victors. Anyone perusing these important volumes will no longer be convinced the Nazis had a monopoly on "war crimes."

Reviewing this period of history, Harry Elmer Barnes observed that, "Even if one were to accept the most extreme and exaggerated indictment of Hitler and the national socialists for their activities after 1939 made by anybody fit to remain outside a mental hospital, it is almost alarmingly easy to demonstrate that the atrocities of the Allies in the same period were more numerous as to victims and were carried out for the most part by methods more brutal and painful than alleged extermination in gas ovens."

—Charles Lutton

DOENITZ AT NUMREMBERG: A RE-APPRAISAL, edited by H.K. Thompson, Jr. and Henry Strutz, preface by Justice William L. Hart, Amber Publishing (available from the IHR), Hb, 230pp heavily illustrated \$11.00, ISBN 0-916788-01-6.

This exceptionally comprehensive book was dedicated to Admiral Karl Doenitz, "a naval officer of unexcelled ability and unequalled courage who, in his nation's darkest hour, offered his person and sacrificed his future to save the lives of many thousands of people."

The editors, in their introduction, talk about the purpose of the book being "a sampling of up-dated qualified opinion on the Nuremberg and related 'war crimes trials' of Axis personnel conducted by the Allies after WW II, with emphasis on the trial of Doenitz."

Dan V. Gallery, Rear Admiral, U.S.N (Ret.), in his prologue, refers to the International Military Tribunal (IMT) as "a kangaroo court . . . with men whose hands were bloody sitting on the judges seats."

In this book are excerpts from pp215-219 of *Profiles of Courage* by Pres. John F. Kennedy who lauds the October, 1946 position taken by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who was disturbed by the war crimes trials of Axis leaders. Kennedy asserts "the Nuremberg trials were at no time before the Congress for consideration . . . not an issue in the campaign . . . but Bob Taft spoke out. Quotes Taft: "About this whole judgement there is the spirit of vengeance, and vengeance is seldom justice. In these trials we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trials—government policy and not justice—with little relation to Anglo-Saxon heritage. By clothing policy in the forms of legal procedure, we may discredit the whole idea of justice in Europe for years to come . . ." Kennedy reasserts what the Ohio Senator insisted: Nuremberg "was a blot on American Constitutional history and a serious departure from our Anglo-Saxon heritage of fair and equal treatment . . ."

The book itself comprises 194 pages, with signed statements from approximately 380 world leaders, spokesmen, and people of prominence—many of them military—condemning the trials as a "travesty of justice," "violation of international law," "hypocritical," "unjust," "unfair," "contemptible," "a step backward in international law" according to Judge Learned Hand.

Distinguished contributors include: Vice Adm. W.L. Ainsworth, Rear Admirals C. Alexandris and J.E. Arnold; Hon. J.H. Ball; Prof. H.E. Barnes; Hon. S. Draden and U.L. Burdick; Taylor Caldwell, W.H. Chamberlin; Lady E.M. Chetwynd; Prof. Kenneth Colgrove; P.A. del Valle, Lt. Gen.; Justice William O. Douglas; T.S. Eliot; Brig. Gen. B. Fellers; J.H. Gipson of Caxton Printers; Prof. W.E. Hocking; Adm. H.E. Kimmel; Hon. W. Langer and J.B. Lee; Adolph Menjou; Vice Adm. A.E. Montgomery; Flt. Adm. C.W. Nimitz; Adm. Sir H.A. Packer; Adm. J.W. Reeves; Brig. Gen. A. Skeen; Lt. Gen. G.E. Stratemeyer; Prof. C.C. Tansill; Hon. F.J.P. Veale; Rear Adm. J. Wainwright; Gen. A.C. Wedemeyer; Hon. Burton K. Wheeler—among many other distinguished contributors.

This is a truly intriguing and revealing work which sets the record straight on some of the most bizarre judicial proceedings of the Twentieth Century. What is most painfully evident from this distinguished volume is not only that Doenitz and many, many others committed no crimes, but those who passed verdicts on them at Nuremberg did. This is a book not only for students of military and naval history, but for all who are interested in seeking justice and an understanding of how it can be dangerously perverted to serve the interests of the savagely vengeful.

—T.D. Hendry

NOT TO THE SWIFT: THE OLD ISOLATIONISTS IN THE COLD WAR ERA, by Justus D. Doenecke, Bucknell University Press, Hardback, \$17.50, ISBN 0-8387-1940-6.

Justus D. Doenecke's book is a veritable gold-mine of information for the serious scholar of Revisionist historiography. Although lacking the minute detail of a similar work, James J. Martin's *American Liberalism and World Politics*, it nevertheless will prove a fruitful source for future scholars delving into the immediate post-World War II period.

The views of Lawrence Dennis, Harry Elmer Barnes, John T. Flynn, Charles Callan Tansill, Charles A. Lindbergh, Norman Thomas, Frank Chodorov, Henry Regnery, William Henry Chamberlin, Frank Hanighen, and several dozen others are examined as to their attitude toward world events in the 1945-1960 period.

Although obviously sympathetic to the views of say, Lawrence Dennis—since Doenecke is an 'academic' historian (of the "He said it; not I" school—lip-service must be paid to anti-McCarthyism and there is a rather gratuitous anti-McCarthyism thrown in. McCarthy's escapades were after all, small time "stuff" compared to the exploits of Roosevelt and his "liberal" entourage.

In his acknowledgments Dr. Doenecke neatly juggles the names of James J. Martin and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., two very disparate figures, but the Professor perhaps should be forgiven his tight-rope-walking. He has produced an eminently readable account of some of the most interesting American historians and publicists of the last fifty years.

—Bezalel Chaim

About the Contributors

JAMES J. MARTIN graduated in history from the University of New Hampshire in 1942 and received his MA (1945) and Ph.D. (1949) degrees in history from the University of Michigan. He has taught history at educational institutions from coast to coast. His first book *Men Against the State* is widely regarded as the best history of early American libertarianism and anarchism. Dr. Martin has since written and edited a large number of history texts.

HARRY ELMER BARNES (1889-1968) is generally regarded as the founding father of Historical Revisionism. The first-ever Revisionist Convention in 1979 was dedicated to his memory. He authored scores of books and hundreds of articles, which take up forty-seven pages of listings in his biography. The best introduction to his writings is *The Barnes Trilogy* (IHR, 1979, \$4).

WILLIS A. CARTO founded the Institute for Historical Review in 1978 and serves as the treasurer of Liberty Lobby, Inc., publisher of *The Spotlight*, a weekly newspaper out of Washington D.C.

MARK WEBER was born and raised in Oregon and was educated at various universities around the world: Portland (OR) State University, University of Illinois, University of Munich, and Indiana State University. In 1976 he obtained his BA with high honors in history, and in 1977 he was awarded an MA in central European History. He now works in Washington DC as a freelance researcher, author and German translator.

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The Journal of Historical Review

This Issue:

Dr. Robert Faurisson
Analysis of the Anne Frank Diary

Dr. Serban Andronescu
The Holocaust and Romania

Dr. Charles E. Weber
The Six Million Thesis—*Cui Bono?*

Samuel E. Konkin III
El Salvador: The War to Come

Dr. Martin A. Larson
***Whatever Happened to the
Dead Sea Scrolls?***

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CONTENTS

Correspondence	101
<hr/>	
Cui Bono? An American Veteran's Views on Non-Jewish Toleration and Propagation of the Extermination Thesis <i>Dr. Charles E. Weber</i>	105
<hr/>	
Whatever Happened to the Dead Sea Scrolls? <i>Dr. Martin A. Larson</i>	119
<hr/>	
El Salvador: The War to Come <i>Samuel Edward Konkin III</i>	129
<hr/>	
Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine? <i>Dr. Robert Faurisson</i>	147
<hr/>	
Romanians and the Holocaust <i>Dr. Serban C. Andronescu</i>	211
<hr/>	
About the Contributors	224

A Note From The Editor

With the recent (second) fire-bombing of the IHR offices, one could say that this—our first 128 page *Journal of Historical Review*—has been launched with a real bang!

Our gain is substantial and lasting. That of the "Jewish Defenders" was but a moment of typical destructive glee.

How invidious the minds must be that perpetrate or even sympathize with these juvenile, frantic acts of cowardly violence. Are they capable of perceiving the damage they're doing to their very own *causus belli*? Or is that their unannounced intention?

When Revisionists reek havoc on the opposition, we at least take the civilized route of open debate. That, in fact, is one of the more *recononrativo* qualities of the literature we make available. Typically, though, this approach carries little weight with the unsocial-minded who can only screech in turbulent protest, slander, and toss explosives in the night.

But bombs don't obliterate truth. They only serve to ignite the quest for it. Threats and public demonstrations of victimitis won't frighten or emotive the facts away. Smears and calculated mendacity can't negate the inescapable conclusions of honest researchers.

No, their truculence isn't working so well. The simple and total media blackout of years ago was a far more effective device. And we say this even at the risk of having the suggestion taken seriously. But it's too late to revert, we think, and we might just have open warfare on our hands, no doubt to make history safe for democracy.

But in the meantime we have a new and greater *Journal of Historical Review* to introduce.

Dr. Robert Faurisson is with us again. We think you'll find the long-awaited translation of his extensive work on the Anne Frank Diary as potent as it is pure joy to read.

Complimenting that are several of the papers delivered at the IHR's annual conference last November: Dr. Weber offers his insights into the benefits accruing to the non-Jewish propagators of the extermination thesis; Dr. Andronescu writes on the pumped-up Holocaust statistics attributed to his native Romania; Dr. Larson gives us some very interesting background on the Dead Sea Scrolls; and Sam Konkin looks at the war to come in El Salvador.

Let us know what you think.

Correspondence

MIRACLE AT MAJDANEK?

The Majdanek "gas chambers" are no longer a mystery. Finally, after 3 talks with the Majdanek director, Mr. Edward Dziadosz, and the custos, Madam Henryka Telesz, it has at last been admitted that the "gas chambers" are not authentic. They were built and set in order after the war.

Dziadosz informed us that the "gas chambers" were erected after the war on the basis of witnessess' accounts. Who these witnesses are he has never told us and most likely never will. When we spoke to him for the first time in 1978 he could not give us even one person in Poland who had witnessed the gassings, so we can just imagine what kind of "witnesses" his "witnesses" really are.

While we were at Majdanek this year, we went into one of the "gas chambers" to study them closely and take additional detailed photographs. The area is closed off, but as before, we managed to sneak in. It so happened that while we were inside the "gas chambers," the custos, Madam Telesz, came strutting along with a West German group she was "guiding." Attentively, we listened to her telling her "true" story. We had to press our bodies tightly against the wall, lest the people and the custos herself would notice us as they were gazing into the "gas chamber." This "gas chamber" by the way is one of the two with the holes on the ceiling where it is claimed Zyklon B was discharged. Not a word was mentioned by Telesz that this building had been altered after the war but she made it out as if everything was authentic. She even went so far as to fool the tourists into believing that inside this particular "gas chamber," people were also shot, and that the bullet holes from these events were clearly visible on the wall. Why such shootings did not also take place in the other "gas chambers," only she herself and her fellow Exterminationists would know. Evidently these holes were also made by the Majdanek, Hollywood stage artists and, of course, all based on some mysterious "witnesses."

During an animated discussion in the summer of 1981 between myself, Mr. Edward Dziadosz and the custos Madam Henryka Telesz, a rather interesting thing happened which illustrates the point nicely how our rivals are using tress as evidence for extermination. Being unable to give us any proof of deliberate extermination at Majdanek, Madam Telesz, who was visibly shaken, retorted that the evidence for deliberate extermination was clearly proven by the fact the the Germans had planted trees. For my own sake, I just could not catch her reasoning, for if the planting of trees gave clear evidence of extermination, then anything can prove extermination. At any rate, I asked her: "Do you mean that the Germans planted trees here at Majdanek to cover up all the traces of their crimes?" "No, no, but at those other places," Telesz said.

"What places?" I asked her. Unable to give me an answer and as she, by this time, was thoroughly confused, I decided to help her. "Perhaps you mean such places as Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka?" "Yes, yes," she nodded back to me. I then told her straight in her face: "Dear Madam, we have made tests of those trees and they are no older than 20 years, and using your logic that would mean it was the Poles who did the exterminating, in that, I assume, it must have been the Poles who planted those trees. Or are you suggesting that these camps were first liberated in the 1960's?" In the voice of an utterly defeated person she managed to reply: "NO—well," and by this time she probably wished she had never brought up the matter about the final, clear evidence, those trees which by some strange fate constitute the absolute proof of mass extermination.

Ditlieb Felderer
Taby, Sweden

COMMENTS ON LAST ISSUE

With respect to The Journal, issue for Spring, 1982, Mr. Richard Landwehr's detailed letter is excellent. One wishes the same could be said for the most recent letter of Dr. Wayland D. Smith. For one so easily irritated, as is Dr. Smith, how surprising is his contented purr on the subject of "psycho-history." Except for its ostentatious jargon, there is nothing new in this latest "discipline." Everything in Dr. Stein's original article (Winter, 1980) can be fully explained by common sense and without resorting to the unhealthy and convoluted obsession with sex.

Dr. Stein and Dr. Smith both stress the importance of empathy in understanding. Empathy, in fact, is of little or no consequence. Understanding requires like-mindedness, not empathy. Like-mindedness means that the alien mind is not present, whereas empathy (often indistinguishable from sentimentality) implies sympathy for what is foreign. History shows us again and again that two peoples cannot understand each other: they are essentially, ineradicably, alien to each other. And this is generally true even if they are of the same race. How many Englishmen, even those who admire things German, have ever understood the German, entered into his spirit, and become one with him? Not even Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who married Wagner's younger daughter, spoke and wrote perfect German, lived and died in Germany, could do that. Listen to how an English or a Jewish musician plays German music, and the listener will understand that empathy is a trivial factor. A German musician's instinctive feeling for the music of his people constitutes an understanding in which empathy and intellectual comprehension play no role.

As for the source of Dr. Smith's irritation—namely Dr. Andreas Wesserle's letter (Winter, 1981)—it is impossible to understand his annoyance. Dr. Wesserle stresses (and rightly so) the incomparably more destructive nature of Allied bombing. In the context of his letter—and outside that context, as well!—his point is perfectly apt. Dr. Smith's observation that Germany lacked the resources to answer in kind is not germane. It was never part of Germany's strategy to commit such atrocities. Had it been, Germany would have manufactured the

necessary bombers before the war. As it was, in fact, Germany's intention to remain at peace, while redressing the vicious wrongs of the Versailles Treaty, her ornaments generally were scanty.

Ronald Klett
Greendale, Wis.

WHY CREMATE?

It is claimed that the Nazis used cremation—a very inefficient method for disposing of millions of corpses—for the purpose of causing the bodies to vanish without a trace, thus destroying evidence of the genocide crime.

Most people, not being familiar with the cremation process, assume that cremation reduces a corpse completely to ashes. This is not the case. I have been informed by an undertaker that cremation reduces the soft tissues to ash but not the bones. The bones must then be ground up in a machine built for the purpose. The "ashes" of a cremated corpse consist mostly of ground bone, some pieces being "as long as one-half inch."

It would not make sense to cremate millions of corpses and then bury the bones in mass graves. One would simply bury the corpses, as the corpses would take up little more space, especially if emaciated, than the bones alone.

Therefore, if the Nazis had murdered and cremated millions of Jews, they must have ground the bones and there would exist today vast deposits of bone in areas where the camps were located.

Barbara B. Clark
San Diego, Calif.

JUDICIAL BAMBOOZLE

I read with some amazement in your publication that "judicial notice" had been taken that "Jews were gassed to death at Auschwitz concentration Camp in Poland during the summer of 1944." I fear that such a "judicial notice" opens up what we common folk call "a can of worms."

To begin, what is a Jew? No one seems to really know. A race? A religion? Judeans? Khazars? I believe a court in Isreal declared that a Jew was a person born of a Jewish mother. But would that also apply if a Jewish woman were raped and impregnated by a Japanese or Negro?

Was Karl Marx a Jew? It is my recollection that he was a member of the Lutheran Church and wrote various anti-Jewish articles. What about Trotsky? A Communist and Atheist and also a Jew? What about the so-called "secret Jews" the Marranos. Are they Jews in fact?

"Gassed to death?" Perhaps by accident. Or murdered by other Jews. Or murdered by Poles or Russians. Or by SS men in violation of SS regulations. "Gassed to death" can mean anything. And how many? "Jews" could mean only two.

"Auschwitz concentration Camp?" Was Auschwitz really a "concentration Camp?" Was it not an industrial complex? Now this is nit-picking but when "judicial notice" is taken, that "judicial notice" must be carefully, even tediously, examined.

That Auschwitz was in Poland seems pretty safe, but, again, to nit-pick, was Auschwitz not actually in the so-called "General Government" which had been set up by the German Occupation authorities?

Why refer specifically to the "summer of 1944?" This seems to indicate that something special happened during that summer. Were Jews only "gassed to death" during the summer of 1944? If so, were they gassed during the entire summer? If only two Jews were involved then one day would have been enough. And the "judicial notice" gives us no reason to think that more than two were involved. If thousands or millions were involved, why does the "judicial notice" not say so?

Suppose we knew nothing about Auschwitz other than the information provided by the "judicial notice." If that were true, we might well think that the Jews involved were criminals executed by the Polish government. We would have no reason to think that the German government was involved in any way. What conclusions would we draw if told that "Jews were gassed to death at Sacramento, California?" We might well think the reference was to criminals executed by the State in that era when California used cyanide to remove unwanted members of society. We certainly would not think the German government or the Mexican government or the Chinese government was involved in the affair.

It would not help even if the "judicial notice" charged the German government and specifically the SS with having Jews "gassed to death." We would have to have a copy of the order to do the gassing. And by whom were our two Jews dispatched? SS men in general could not have done the gassing, it would have to be a particular individual or group of individuals. Or maybe it was done by Himmler personally. We do not know because the "judicial notice" does not tell us anything at all about the circumstances.

Well, I think I have beat this dead horse long enough. I did want you to know that your publication stirred up my thinking and so put down these idle thoughts. Do not take "judicial notice" of them. They are too confused and too lacking in concrete data. If you take "judicial notice" of something make sure you are on firm ground. "Judicial notice" that the Earth goes around the Sun seems safe enough. But to take "judicial notice" that water runs down hill might be less sure. I seem to remember that the famous "Believe or Not" man, Robert Ripley, found a river somewhere that ran uphill.

Best Wishes in your work. We must be free to question any event in history, and ready to change our minds if new information comes along.

W.E. Dudley
Las Vegas, Nev.

SEEDS OF WAR

As regards the Zionist provocation of Hitler & whether I subscribe to that viewpoint—I do believe that the ugly seeds of World War II were laid in the anti-Hitler barrage of 1933 & 1934. There were anti-Jewish incidents to be sure but nothing like the stuff put out by irresponsible journalists and people like Samuel Untermyer. Another case of making "political mountains out of racial molehills." You can see the same process at work in the current "Timmerman affair."

Bezalel Chaim
Brooklyn, New York

Cui Bono? An American Veteran's Views on Non-Jewish Toleration and Propagation of the Extermination Thesis

Dr. CHARLES E. WEBER

(Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference)

According to Cicero, L. Cassius Lohnginus Ravilla, who was Consul of the Roman Republic in 127 B.C., admonished judges involved in criminal trials to investigate the question to whose advantage a criminal act might have been committed. His famous question, which has had an influence on western juridical practice ever since, consisted of only two words: "Cui bono?"

It is my intention in this paper to pose this question in order to understand the motivations of several non-Jewish groups whose members frequently not only tolerate but actually propagate a patently questionable historical thesis. Both material and psychological motivations are to be examined here.

Jewish, and especially Zionist, exploitation and continued propagation of the "Holocaust" material have rather obvious economic and psychological motivations which have been described by a number of authors,¹ but the strange, if not apparently masochistic, toleration and even propagation of the material by non-Jewish groups have not been sufficiently summarized and discussed.

The evidence against the claim that some six million Jews were deliberately killed (largely by lethal gas) on a massive scale in labor and relocation camps as a result of a general extermination policy on the part of Germany and its wartime allies, has long been available to anyone who was objective and

interested enough to examine even the simplest of demographic data available in readily accessible reference works. As early as 1951, for example, Col. John Beaty pointed out the demographic evidence against the claim in his important little book, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, pp. 134 ff. In more recent years such brilliant analyses of the extermination thesis as those by Prof. Arthur R. Butz and Dr. Wilhelm Stiglich have merited the attention of those who objectively seek the truth in this area.

The most obvious group which we must consider are the Germans themselves. Before considering their present sentiments and especially those of their governments with regard to the extermination thesis, we must first undertake a cursory analysis of the sentiments which prevailed in German lands during 1933 and later, along with the conditions which caused them.

In 1945, Germany and those who had held leading positions in the National Socialist government during 1933 to 1945 were at the mercy of victorious and very vindictive powers. Indeed, they were even dependent on the victors for vital food supplies. In the wake of a terrible military defeat with staggering costs in blood, territory and treasure, former members of the National Socialist German Workers' Party also faced considerable hostility from the rest of the German population,² although a mere ten years before 1945 the National Socialist movement had been enjoying a great popularity as a result of its notable successes during the first years after its accession to power in early 1933.³

One measure of this popularity was the Saar plebiscite of 13 January 1935, in which about 90% of the Saar population voted to return to Germany and only about 8.8% to continue under the League of Nations. Not only did National Socialism enjoy considerable popularity in Germany itself, but at least a fair measure of admiration and approval in non-German lands. An indication of this sentiment can be seen in the Olympic games held in Berlin in 1936. In contrast to the massive boycott of the Olympic games held in the USSR in 1980, there was certainly no massive boycott of the games in 1936. Perhaps the most important tolerant reaction to National Socialism abroad was to be found in the attitude of the vast majority of Americans to it. They wanted no formal involvement in a war against Germany in spite of powerful and influential interests which wanted such an involvement.⁴ From the present vantage, there is certainly no reason to doubt the results of many private polls which showed that about 5/6ths of the American population

wanted no formal part of the war raging in Europe and that this sentiment persisted rather constantly right down to 7 December 1941 in spite of the massive unemployment which still existed in the United States, even throughout the years 1940 and 1941, and in spite of the powerful forces which favored formal entry into the war against Germany, a land comparable in area to the State of Texas.

During the years 1940 and following, many individuals in the occupied lands voluntarily helped the German cause. Some of them were quite distinguished persons, such as the famous Norwegian author Knut Hamsun (1859-1952), who had won the Nobel Prize in 1920. The military figures, Marshal Petain and Admiral Horthy, to mention only two examples, also cooperated with National Socialist Germany.

Notwithstanding the popularity of National Socialism which existed during the years before the tide started to turn against the German armed forces in 1942-3, we are now confronted with German governments which not only tolerate the extermination thesis and "Holocaust" material but actively persecute those who dare to question them.⁵ To understand this seemingly paradoxical phenomenon, we must understand the present position of these governments and their historical background. Both the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, its Communist counterpart in central Germany, are states which developed from the military occupation zones that existed during 1945-1949. (The eastern quarter of the area of the Reich as it existed in 1937 was incorporated into Poland and the USSR.) Within strict limitations and directives, Germans were gradually permitted ever greater authority to govern themselves and finally the two republics were founded in 1949. Even if these two states enjoy a nominal sovereignty today, they remain essentially creations of the occupying powers: The United States, Britain and France in the case of western Germany and the USSR in the case of central Germany. Somewhat parallel developments took place on a much smaller scale in Austria, which was not accorded full sovereignty until 1955, and then only with many stipulations by the victors. Austria, for example, had to promise never to join Germany again.

Many German politicians of the present generation founded and furthered their careers while disavowing National Socialism or any connections which they might have had with it (e.g., Willy Brandt). Having thus committed themselves, they are hardly in a position to be receptive or even just tolerant to historical revisionism, no matter what its merits or validity.

All three of the present German republics are faced with delicate problems with regard to the approval of other nations, for economic reasons, if nothing else. Since about 1870 Germany has been incapable of growing sufficient food for its population, which was expanding especially rapidly between about 1870 and 1941. Germany was therefore forced to export or starve, a circumstance which has brought it into conflict with other European nations that must also compete for overseas markets. This problem became even more acute after the large territorial losses of 1918 and 1945. I recall vividly a plea for mercy made to me shortly after the war by a former National Socialist in Internment Camp No. 75 in Kornwestheim, north of Stuttgart. He pointed out that people of his nation had not had enough to eat for 30 years.

As a result of the overwhelming propaganda deluge of World War II against National Socialist Germany, the present German republics have been forced to disavow all that the Germany of 1933-1945 represented. It has generally been the policy of the three German republics to represent the German government in power during 1933-1945 (or 1938 to 1945 in the case of Austria) as an illegal usurpation and a gross discontinuity in German history. Officially, western Germany in particular has had a tendency to glorify the Weimar Republic and to consider itself the legal successor of the Weimar Republic (whose flag and motto it has readopted), even though there are important differences between the Weimar Republic and the Bundesrepublik.

The German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, represents itself as an innovation, namely the first German government of peasants and workers.

Perhaps the chief immediate reason why the Bundesrepublik has made a great ostentation of prosecuting former National Socialists is that it has thus sought to counter a collective guilt thesis which would have been disadvantageous to the German nation as a whole.

So strong has been the reaction against the defeated National Socialist government that in a number of ways the Bundesrepublik seems to go out of its way to pursue policies which are the mirror opposite of the policies prevalent in 1933 and following years even if such policies endanger the economic, social and ethnic fabric of Germany. One notable example is the toleration of the massive assimilation (economic, if not also cultural and biological) into the German population of foreign industrial workers who are markedly different culturally from Germans, notably those from Turkey and Yugoslavia. The present very

low birthrate in Germany could very well be a result of destruction of a wholesome and constructive national pride.

Both in general and in particular with regard to the extermination thesis, the policies of the Bundesrepublik must be assessed on the basis of a psychological reaction to the crushing military defeat of its predecessor government, the circumstances of the creation of the Bundesrepublik and the economic realities which the Bundesrepublik faces, both internally and externally.

Turning now from the attitudes toward the "Holocaust" material which prevail in the three present German republics that evolved in part of the former territories of the Reich, let us now examine the toleration and exploitation of the "Holocaust" material in the case of groups outside Germany.

Since the United States became the leading and most effective adversary of Germany during the course of World War II, let us consider first of all the relationship of non-Jewish groups in the United States to the "Holocaust" material.

In 1945 the tremendous damage which had been inflicted on the German population and such outstanding monuments of European civilization as Nuremberg and Dresden were there to be seen by all, including the millions of young American men who served in the American occupation forces. Many American soldiers were inclined to be sympathetic to the German population, particularly the men from the former Confederate states, whose not-all-too-remote ancestors had also known a tough enemy occupation after defeat in a war also fought largely over racial issues.

On the other hand, I know a fellow veteran of World War II who still boasts of his exploits in that tragic conflict. He is a Germanophobe and claims to have been present at the capture of Dachau, conditions at which he likes to describe with considerable exaggeration. He still proudly shows a propaganda book put out by his division just after the war. Such a man has an obvious vested psychological interest in continuing his beliefs in the flood of Germanophobic propaganda in which he has joyfully bathed during the past 35 years. As Friedrich Nietzsche observed in his *Also sprach Zarathustra* with ironic accuracy: "Der gute Krieg ist es, der jede Sache heiligt." (It is the good war which hallows every cause.)

The higher officers carrying out the occupation policies on the basis of orders and directives from Washington were concerned about the sympathy toward the German population which was present in many of the lower-ranking officers and enlisted men, who typically had much closer contact with a

broad spectrum of the German population. Allegations of atrocities committed by the Germans were a most welcome aid in inhibiting this sympathy on the part of American military personnel, as well as subduing psychologically the German population, which was receiving rationed food supplies hardly above the starvation level. I recall a motion picture widely shown in German civilian theaters (around 1946, I think) concerning conditions in German labor and relocation camps. The German title was *Die Todesmühlen* (*Mills of Death*).

On a broader scale than the immediate problems of the military occupation was the sacrifice of time, blood and treasure which the American people had had to make to defeat an enemy which had been involved in a titanic struggle against communism, which many farsighted Americans had perceived as a far more dangerous enemy than National Socialist Germany. Before December 1941, bitter political battles had been fought over the question of intervention, and some time after the hostilities were over no less a figure than Senator Taft of Ohio had the wisdom, decency and courage to question the legal basis of the Nuremberg trials.

The Democratic Party, which had its men in the presidential office from 1933 to 1953 and thus bore the essential responsibility for the conduct of the war and the postwar relationship with the USSR, welcomed any means of rationalization and justification of its conduct during this period. Democrats further welcomed any means to discredit their former adversaries on the intervention question and to counterbalance the emerging recognition on the part of many Americans that some dismal and unjust mistakes had been made in the conduct of the war, which were now beginning to pose such serious problems as the blockade of Berlin and the communist domination of eastern Europe. It is still common in certain circles to refer to the emerging recognition of the mistakes which had been committed and the wrath of the broad masses of the American people resultant from the recognition of them as "McCarthyism." In reality, what we subsume under the term "McCarthyism" was the quite understandable anger at the Roosevelt and Truman administrations for their naive, if not criminally irresponsible, furthering of communist aims. Many opponents of "McCarthyism" continue to look to the "Holocaust" material as a political weapon and rationalization of the behavior of the Democratic Party.

Even today, over three decades after the end of World War II, it is strange to observe the composition of the supine audiences at the "Holocaust" seminars sponsored in many cities of the United States by Jewish organizations, often on university campuses. Much of the audience consists of non-Jews who feel ~~necessity~~ to seek the approval of Jews and perhaps, in some

cases, still feel a necessity of rationalizing the conduct of the war by the Democratic Party. As a result of heavy Jewish influence in the American news media, especially in television, typical American political figures would not dare to question the "Holocaust" material, although many of them are doubtless aware of the reasons for doubting its validity. So effective and persistent has been the propagation of the "Holocaust" material that few adult Americans are not aware of the claim that six million Jews were murdered in German relocation and labor camps during World War II, but it is doubtful that even 1% of the American population would be able to explain the term "Operation Keelhaul," even though it refers to one of the most disgraceful and unfortunate episodes in American history. Even if only about 3% of the American population is Jewish, that component has a political influence completely out of proportion to its numbers. The "Holocaust" material is deeply woven into the very fabric of American political life.

Let us now turn briefly to England, which undertook the grave step of declaring war on Germany on 3 September 1939 and thus staked its very existence on the defeat of Germany. There can be little doubt today that this step was hardly occasioned by an idealistic concern for the continued existence of the Polish state, a nationalistic dictatorship hardly milder and less hostile to its large Jewish population than Germany. A fortnight after the German invasion of Danzig and western Poland had begun, the USSR launched its occupation of eastern Poland against some resistance. However, England and its somewhat less eager companion-in-arms, France, hardly made a whimper of protest, let alone a declaration of war, against the second invader of Poland.⁶

The English problems with the occupation of Germany during 1945 and the years after, had a vague similarity to those of the United States in some respects, but we must also bear in mind that England had been a long-time competitor of Germany for overseas markets. Now England was in a position which enabled her to play a major role in keeping German goods out of the international trade channels of the world, at least for a few years. Paralysis of German industrial production could be maintained by such monetary policies that England helped to impose as the continued, forced circulation of the old Reichsmark notes, which was not ended until June, 1948. Many of the important factories in the British Zone were dismantled and sent to Russia, as grotesque as that might seem today. England had strong economic motivations for the psychological discrediting of its old commercial and industrial rival, and these were certainly not frustrated by the continuing inundation of the bitter hate

propaganda against a prostrate Germany, including, of course, the "Holocaust" material.

England was also most heavily involved in the almost Carthaginian destruction of German cities during the long period after the declaration of the unconditional surrender policy to the end of the war, a period of about 2½ years.⁷ Although a great deal of publicity has been given to the bomb damage which England suffered during World War II (e.g., Coventry), this damage was only a very small fraction of what Germany suffered.⁸ If the English had any self-recriminations for the destruction of German cities and the genuinely holocaustal killing of hundreds of thousands of civilians in the process, what could have been better for assuaging their consciences than the "Holocaust" material?

Let us finally consider a group of states which have exploited the "Holocaust" material in a most energetic manner: the USSR and its satrapal governments in eastern Europe. As we shall see, the communist lands have had compelling reasons to continue to propagate the "Holocaust" material.

At first, however, we are confronted with the question as to what extent we are dealing with a non-Jewish group in this case. There can be little doubt that in its earlier years the government of the USSR was a government largely dominated by Jews. There is even a considerable body of literature on this question and even Winston Churchill, the shrewd political opportunist par excellence, expressed his observations of the largely Jewish composition of the early Soviet government in 1920.⁹ The middle classes of western Europe were well aware of the ethnic reality of communism and the brutality of communism in practice. This circumstance, perhaps more than any other of a number of factors, caused the hostility to Jews that prevailed in so many lands west of the Soviet Union during the period between the two world wars. Even in their own backyard, the ephemeral government of Bela Kun (1919) made its quite negative impression on the middle classes in western European countries.

Be that as it may, let us now consider motivations which the USSR and its postwar satrapies have had for emphasizing the "Holocaust" and similar material in their post-1945 propaganda.

The behavior of the USSR externally during recent decades has struck fear into the hearts of decent, successful people throughout the world. Before the German invasion of Russia in June, 1941 the USSR had taken by force or threats of force large areas of eastern Europe, a fact which is now not commonly recalled. Going from north to south, we first consider the

war which the USSR waged in Finland. The Finns fought back bravely during the war in the winter of 1939-1940 and gained the sympathy of the world, but were finally forced to give in and make painful territorial concessions. The USSR annexed the three Baltic republics, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the middle of 1940, the eastern part of Poland in September 1939 and an important part of eastern Rumania in 1940. The treatment of the populations in these lands, especially the Baltic states with their German minorities, was undoubtedly an important factor in Hitler's decision to invade Russia, in addition to the frightening Soviet buildup of arms, particularly its tank strength, which was essentially an attack asset.¹⁰

In spite of the gross numerical superiority in terms of national population and numbers of tanks which the USSR had at the outset of the war between the Soviet Union and Germany, German forces were able to penetrate so far into Russia (beyond the Baltic states and Poland) that its two major cities, St.

etersburg (communist name: Leningrad) and Moscow, were threatened within a few months. To the south, much of the agriculturally important Ukraine was occupied. Undoubtedly this catastrophe for the communists was due in large measure to the hatred of the brutal regime under which massive tyranny, famines, industrial stagnation and oppression of minorities had occurred. It had to become clear to the Soviet leaders what inherent weaknesses their regime had and how close they were to defeat, in spite of the fact that the war was inherently a David-Goliath contest. By early 1943 the tide of battle began to turn as a result, due to a considerable extent to moral and material support from abroad, notably from the United States.

The spring of 1945 saw the final defeat of the numerically far inferior German forces and by 1948 the new Soviet empire was in control of nearly half of the Europe (excluding Scandinavia) which had existed west of the Soviet borders in 1938, including almost exactly half of Germany as it existed in its 1937 borders. During June 1948 to May 1949 the whole world was astonished and sobered by the affrontiveness shown by the new Soviet empire in its blockade of Berlin. By 1949 the world was also terrorized by the knowledge that the masters of this empire now had atomic bombs at their disposal, having been aided by a number of spies in this area, nearly all of whom were of Jewish origin and two of whom were executed for their treason in 1953, after a long judicial process.

As a result of a number of factors, but especially as a result of the gullibility, ignorance of foreign affairs, and even treason on the part of members of the Roosevelt and Truman admin-

istrations, the Soviet Union had been lifted from the depths to a position of great power and security. However, in spite of a sophisticated apparatus for the suppression of the populations in the occupied countries and satrapies, massive deportations and the like, a number of revolutionary movements developed against the oppressors, which culminated in the very important Hungarian Revolution of 1956, which had tremendous psychological and political repercussions even in defeat.

Skillful and energetic propaganda efforts on the part of the Soviet rulers have undoubtedly been a big factor in the upward climb of the Soviet Union, which started from a nadir of its fortunes in 1943. The "Holocaust" material has proved to be especially valuable to the Soviet Union for a number of objectives. It has not been without design that memorials relating to the "Holocaust" claims are to be found in many places throughout the Soviet empire and that the sites of former relocation and labor camps in which large numbers of Jews were interned during the last years of the war have been preserved and altered in such a way as to make the "Holocaust" claims seem plausible, at least to the superficial viewer. Even postage stamps issued by the satrapies over a long period keep up the publicity of the "Holocaust."

An essential objective of this propaganda effort is the demonstration that in spite of the obvious and continued oppressiveness of the Soviet empire, a German victory would have meant a worse life. The "Holocaust" material thus plays an essential role in the pacification of the many nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet empire, including a number of lands which fought as sovereign states on the side of Germany during its titanic struggle against Communism during 1941-1945: Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Slovakia. The material is continually used as a justification to the outside world for the retention of eastern Europe in the Soviet empire. A further advantage to the Soviet empire from stressing the "Holocaust" material, lies in its appeal to the Jewish minorities in various lands, especially in the United States.

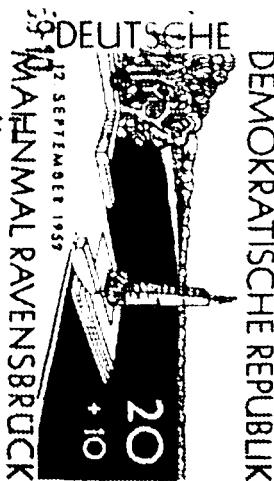
The "Holocaust" material has proved to be a useful supplement in a number of other Soviet propaganda efforts, including the Nuremberg "trials" and the obliterating by contrast of the awareness of many crimes of the Soviet Union against other nations, such as the Katyn massacres.¹¹

By way of contrast, the massive sufferings on the part of non-Jews remain little known and virtually unmentioned in the popular and school history books of the United States. We need only think of the starvation of Ukrainian peasants in the early 1930s, the massive deportations of populations from the Baltic

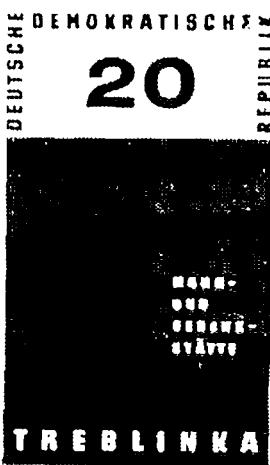
states and the staggering numbers of deaths of Germans during their expulsion from the eastern German areas of 1945-1946. It is estimated that some 2,000,000 Germans died or were murdered during these expulsions.¹²

Obviously though the usefulness of the "Holocaust" material to Zionists may be, its continuous exploitation by various non-Jewish groups in various lands for various reasons is of a continuing importance that has heretofore not been generally realized. As corrosive, divisive and destructive as the "Holocaust" material and extermination thesis are, we must certainly not consider Jews exclusively responsible for their continued propagation.

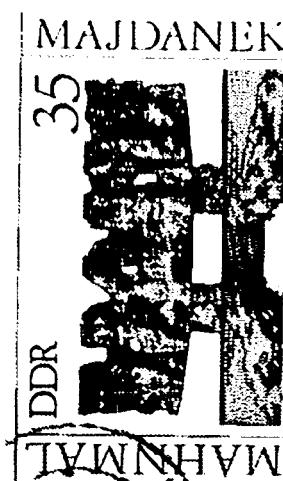
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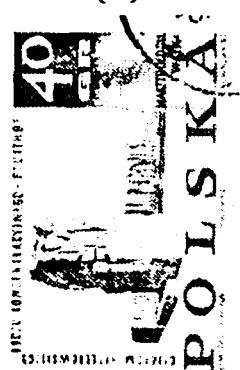
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(5)



(6)



(7)



In Communist lands even postage stamps are used in the continuing propaganda campaign against a government which passed out of existence decades ago.

(1) German Democratic Republic, April, 1961. On the Sachsenhausen national monument, the inscription on the tablet means: "In the Sachsenhausen concentration camp 100,000 citizens of many nations were murdered by Fascists. In honor of the dead and for the admonishment and commitment of the living the national admonitory and commemorative structure at Sachsenhausen was erected." (Note: In Communist lands the word *Fascist* is used in place of *national socialist*.)

(2) German Democratic Republic, August, 1963. Treblinka Memorial.

(3) German Democratic Republic, 1980. Majdanek Memorial.

(4) Poland, July, 1956. Warsaw Ghetto Monument.

(5) Poland, Oct., 1967. Stutthof Monument.

(6) Czechoslovakia, May, 1967. Pinkas Synagogue Memorial. Menorah and list of camps: Terezín (Theresienstadt), Belzec, Osvětim (Auschwitz), Gliwice (Gleiwitz), Buchenwald, Majdanek, Riga, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück.

(7) Czechoslovakia, Feb., 1972. Lidice Memorial, dates 1942 and 1972.

Notes

1. The huge payments of "reparations" by the German Federal Republic to the Zionist state in Palestine (which did not even exist before 1948) were made on the basis of the Luxembourg agreement of 10 September 1952. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1970 edition, Vol. 2, page 88. For a discussion of the psychological motivations, see H. Stein, vol. 1, no. 4., pp. 309-322 of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

2. The author of this paper lived in Germany during 1945-1948 and was involved in the so-called "denazification" activities of the United States military forces, of which he was a member. He was thus in a position to hear a variety of views on the war.

3. The reasons for the general popularity of the National Socialist government in Germany and to some extent even beyond the German borders are too complex to describe in detail here. Suffice it to say that the main reasons were probably the reduction of the rate of unemployment from that of the final years of the Weimar Republic and the restoration of a measure of national self-respect after the humiliations resulting from the Versailles Treaty. John Kenneth Galbraith, an economist dear to the hearts of "liberals" in many lands, characterizes the results of National Socialist economic policies as a "signal accomplishment." (Money, Bantam edition of September, 1976, pp. 174-5.)

4. Again, there were factors involved here which are far too complex to analyze within the scope of this paper.

5. For documentation of such persecution, see *Der moderne Index*, published by the Verlag Für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichte, Vlotho on the Weser, June 1980 (Historische Tatsachen Nr. 7).

6. I recall broadcasts by the Deutschlandsender during the early years of the war. At the signoff before the playing of the national anthem and the Horst-Wessel-Lied this message was repeated nightly: "England hat den Krieg erklärt, Deutschland siegt, wird ihn beenden." (England declared the war; Germany is winning and will end it.)

7. For an excellent summary of this involvement, see the book review by Charles Lutton, "Death from On High," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 1, no 3, pp. 247-254.

8. For the tremendous difference in the tonnage of bombs dropped, see James J. Martin's, *The Saga of Hog Island*, Colorado Springs, 1977, pages 53 and 85. (Available from the IHR \$4.50) I remember translating a report in 1947 or 1948 by Professor Porcy Schramm of Göttingen on the German civilian deaths from bombing, which he estimated at 800,000 as I recall. This would seem to be about twelve times the number of civilians killed in England by German bombing.

9. Anthony Sutton approaches this matter in a rather reserved, almost apologetic manner in his important *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1974), pp. 185 ff. There are also a number of books and booklets from what might be called the Underground Press which discuss this matter in more explicit terms, of which the following are only a sample:

Louis Marshalko, *The World Conquerors*, Christian Book Club, 1968
Frank L. Britton, *Behind Communism*, no date or place.

Quotes! Quotes!! Quotes!!!, Los Angeles, no date.

10. At the outbreak of hostilities the Soviet Union had 20,000 tanks, some five times the number Germany could put in the field in Russia. P. Knightley, *The First Casualty* (1975), pp. 146 and 153. (available from the IHR, Hb \$14.50, Pb \$7.00)

11. The Katyn massacres of captured Polish officers and the "Holocaust" material are, of course, essentially different topics, but Roosevelt's highhanded efforts to suppress the knowledge of Soviet guilt in the massacres are instructive. (See Louis FitzGibbon, *Katyn*, The Noontide Press, Torrance, 1979, pp. 183-4.) It seems to me that one of the most striking and readily verifiable disproofs of the extermination thesis is the contrast between the German behavior after their discovery of the mass graves at Katyn in 1943 and the behavior of the Communists after their capture of the Auschwitz terrain of 27 January 1945. The Germans not only thought that they had nothing to hide, but invited international organizations, foreign forensic experts, foreign journalists and even some Allied prisoners of war to witness the gruesome evidence of the massacre which had obviously been carried out by their communist enemies. The German exploitation of the Katyn evidence should have been not only a propaganda victory for Germany, but also a stern admonishment to the United States and other allies of the USSR as to the nature of their ally. If proofs of the extermination thesis would have been present at Auschwitz and other camps captured by the Soviets, they could easily have attained an even greater propaganda victory by doing just what the Germans had done in 1943, rather than just the opposite. Moreover, they had every incentive for striving for such a victory had the evidence actually been present.

12. *Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 1, no 2, p 181, where *Nemesis at Potsdam* by Alfred M. de Zayas (1977) is reviewed. For a statistical breakdown of the deaths and populations involved in the expulsions, see page XXV of this book. (available from the IHR, \$9.00).

This paper, presented by Dr. Weber at the IHR's 1981 Revisionist Conference, is available on cassette tape from the IHR at \$8.95.

Whatever Happened to the Dead Sea Scrolls?

Dr. MARTIN A. LARSON

(Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference)

After listening to so many magnificent talks on Revisionism, I wonder whether my subject has any real relevance. But it does deal with an historical distortion and cover-up of the first magnitude and I hope you will find it interesting and constructive.

I was brought up in a very religious family, but at an early age I had begun to question some of the teachings that were given to me in my boyhood. And I remember how I questioned the minister of our church when I was reading for confirmation at the age of fifteen concerning some of the atrocities committed by the Jews after they left Egypt, under the leadership of Moses, and according to the story of the Old Testament, invaded Palestine, attacked the inhabitants there, took their property, and drove them from their homes with the help of their God, Jehovah. My interest in religion continued unabated over the years. And thus it was that when I wrote my Ph.D. thesis at the University of Michigan, it dealt with Milton's theology—particularly his Trinitarian concept—and I published a book on the subject in 1927. But then for many years I had no opportunity to study religion or, in fact, anything else. But soon after the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in 1947, I retired from active business and could then devote myself to study. I therefore plunged into research of the Scrolls, and in due course, published a book on the subject called the *Essene Heritage*. And so, the authors of the Scrolls, the Essenes, their writings and their impact on history has been a subject of consuming interest to me for many years.

The Origin and Development of the Cult

Let us first summarize some of the known facts concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls and their authors, the religious organization known as the Essenes (they were also called The Holy Ones, the Poor Men, the Sons of Light, etc.) and who existed in Judaea and the nearby desert from about 192 B.C. to the date of their extinction and destruction in 69 or 70 A.D., when the Roman armies marched through Palestine and finally destroyed Jerusalem. This cult is probably unique as an historical phenomenon; throughout its existence, it was opposed to the Jewish authorities; although it accepted the Scriptures which constitute the Old Testament, it revised, rewrote, or completely reinterpreted them. Also, what is even more significant than important, they gradually absorbed various elements from other sources, such as Zoroastrianism and Pythagoreanism. As a result, they prepared an entire corpus of original scripture which was not only a definite departure from official Judaism, but in basic contradiction to, and a repudiation of, this system of doctrine and ritual.

At the beginning, the cult was simply a reaction against the Hellenizing of Jewish life under Greek domination, but shortly thereafter, it split into two well-defined factions, one of which developed into later Essenism and the other into the Pharasaic movement which produced the Rabbinical priesthood, who, to this day, constitute the official spokesmen for Judaism. By 143 B.C., as we learn from Josephus, three distinct groups had been fully developed in the Jewish population: they were the Essenes, the Pharisees, and the Saducees, of whom the last represented the wealthy, upper-class Jews, who had embraced Epicureanism as their philosophy.

In 134 B.C., Hyrcanus, the only surviving son of Judas Macca-baeus, became king of an independent Israeli nation and ruled until the year 104. In the next year, Alexander Jannaeus assumed the throne and ruled until 78, after which his widow, Helene, or Salome Alexandra, served as Queen Regent until the year 76, when her two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, after taking over, fought each other in a bloody interneccine conflict for the pos-session of power, until the year 64, when Pompey the Roman general invaded Palestine and reduced the Jewish nation into a Roman province under puppet rulers and procurators, who continued until the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

Original Cultic Scriptures

During the period from 192 to 60 B.C., the Essenes produced a

great corpus of literature under the inspiration of leaders known from generation to generation as The Teacher of Righteousness, he was also called the Holy Great One, and was given other titles signifying revelatory powers as direct conduits of messages from the Supreme God of the Universe, who, by the way was something quite different from Jehovah, the tribal god of the Jews. Extremely interesting is the fact that two very important documents—*The Book of Enoch* and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*—were well known among the early Christians and accepted by them as sacred literature of their own. Scholars had no suspicion that these, although widely used in later periods, were produced by the Essenes until the scrolls were discovered near the Dead Sea in 1947. Since hundreds of fragments of these documents were found in the caves, it became obvious that they were among the very important scriptures composed and used by the Essenes themselves.

Persecution and Separation

Whatever else we may consider as firmly established, it is certain that under the reign of Hyrcanus, who was affiliated with the Pharisees previous to 104 B.C., there was persistent persecution of the Essenes, partly because of doctrinal deviations but perhaps even more because of their condemnations of the Jewish authorities, who frequently invaded neighboring territories and forced people there to accept Judaism and circumcision on pain of persecution and even of death. Thus it was that about 104 B.C., as we learn from Josephus, the Essenes became an esoteric mystery-cult with its own communes, its own code of laws, discipline, and organization, which included a total withdrawal and separation from all public activity. As a result, it became the depository of total religious commitment, living in expectation of the day, not very far in the future, when an all-powerful divine personage would appear, send all their Jewish persecutors into everlasting torture in hellish dungeons under the surface of the earth, and establish the kingdom of the saints, (the Sons of Light,) with its capital in Jerusalem.

Under Alexander Jannaeus, who ruled from 103-78 B.C., this hostility and persecution intensified. The Essene documents written during this period are filled with the fiercest denunciations of the Jewish priests and authorities, who not only raided the communes of the Holy Ones and decimated their membership, but were also guilty of constant acts of aggression against their innocent and unoffending neighbors. I know of no other literature replete with comparable condemnations of acts of violence committed without provocation. The documents in our possession

which contain this material are *The Habakkuk Commentary*, Parts IV and V of the *Book of Enoch*, and various statements found in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the original portions of which were composed while Hyracanus was king.

This situation seems to have continued under Queen-Regent Alexandra and her two sons between 78 and 64, when the independent Jewish state was suddenly terminated by the interposition of Roman authority. It is interesting to note that Herod the Great, the puppet Roman ruler of Israel from 39 to 4 B.C., was an Idumaeans who had converted to Judaism and was therefore known as a half-Jew.

At all events, it is certain that the tension between the Essenes and the government was, if anything, more fierce under Jannaeus than it had ever been before. As we have noted, they became a secret brotherhood in 104 in order to avoid total extermination; in spite of this, however, their persecution continued; with their members under solemn vows of secrecy, their organization survived and, in time grew, especially under the comparatively mild regimen which followed the conquest of Judaea by Pompey in 64.

The Execution of the Rabbis

Josephus relates that Jannaeus, who had at first espoused the Pharisees, later went over to the Sadducees; and when the former were accused of conspiring with the Syrians to subvert the government, Jannaeus had 800 leading rabbis crucified at one time; and, as they hung on their "trees" or crosses, he had his soldiers cut the throats of their wives and children as he himself feasted at a great banquet with his concubines and his favorites. This had been doubted by many until the fact was confirmed by the publication of a Dead Sea Scroll fragment which related precisely the same facts.

The Execution and Deification of the Teacher

The climactic event in Essene history occurred in 70 or 69 B.C.. Although all the details of this will probably be known only if more Scrolls are published, certain facts are known. At that time, the Teacher of Righteousness—that is, the Essene leader—went boldly into Jerusalem and there, in the very temple itself, he proclaimed and condemned the lawless corruption and aggressions of the priests and authorities who ruled in Israel. He was therefore seized and executed, by what means is not certain, but some scholars believe that he was crucified.

Shortly thereafter, the persuasion developed among his followers—until it became actual dogma—that he was the Most High God of the Universe Himself who had appeared for a time as

a man among men; that he died a sacrificial death for the redemption of sinners; that he had risen from the grave on the third day; that he had returned to his throne in heaven; and that, before the end of the then-existing generation, he would send a representative to the earth. This representative would in due course be invested with unlimited power and would terminate the present dispensation, conduct the last judgment, and establish the communal kingdom of the saints on earth, who would then come into possession of all the property of the wicked, who would, thereafter, suffer infinite and eternal agonies in hell.

The Essene Revelations Completed

Except for a few original documents written after 69 B.C., and the final interpolations added to *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* at the same time, the cult seems at this point to have considered its corpus of literature and revelation complete. The members studied their scriptures in the various communes scattered about Palestine. Those destined for a special type of leadership were sent to the headquarters at Qumram near the Dead Sea, where they multiplied their holy writings in a scriptorium, where members underwent ritual baptisms daily, and where, dressed in white robes, they partook of sacramental meals in an upper chamber every day.

The Secret Esoteric Order

From Josephus, who was a neophyte in the Order for three years, the world has always known a good deal about the Essenes. When an individual joined, he sold everything he owned and turned the proceeds over to the curator of the Order, who kept this in a separate fund for three years, when it was returned to the applicant if he did not qualify for membership. If he did qualify, his property was intermingled irrevocably with that of the Order, and he was admitted to the commune, but still not permitted to partake of the sacramental bread and wine, nor was he yet taught all its mysteries until the end of five years, when, if he satisfied the leaders as to his truth and reliability, he was finally admitted to full membership. Josephus states that if a member was expelled for some serious infraction of discipline, he simply lay down in the desert and died of starvation, since he could not eat any other kind of food.

Between 60 B.C. and 69 A.D., the communes, which increased to 4,000 male members, continued with little alteration, while awaiting the coming of the Redeemer. However, as the Romans subjugated Galilee on their southward march toward Jerusalem, they came across various Essene communes and, suspecting the

cultists of being a secret and conspiratorial society planning the overthrow of Roman rule, members were tortured under interrogation to reveal their secret doctrines. However, as Josephus tells us, they died, smiling, rather than violate their sacred oaths to never, no never, reveal their beliefs to anyone, no matter what the provocation might be.

Secreting the Scrolls

Then an extraordinary event occurred. As the Romans approached the Dead Sea headquarters at Qumram, the Essenes placed their sacred writings in hundreds of earthen jars, sealed them carefully, and secreted them in various caves located in the rugged terrain. We believe that they expected to return in the not-too-distant future to resume their long-practiced way of life. But, of course, they never did.

Was Jesus an Essene?

The existence of the Essene cult had always been known from the extensive references to, and descriptions of, them in Josephus, Pliny, and Philo Judaeus. Interestingly enough, Thomas De Quincey, a famous English essayist, declared about 1825, that there never was a separate Essene organization; that the so-called Essenes were simply Christians gone underground; that otherwise we would have to accept the blasphemous conclusion that there were two independent, yet almost identical, revelations at the same time and in the same place.

There are scholars who believe that Jesus had been a full-fledged member of the Order; that he was persuaded that He was the personage foretold in their scriptures who would be empowered to establish the Kingdom of Righteousness, and that, therefore, he broke his vow of secrecy and preached the doctrines of the Order in the highways and the byways of Galilee. Some scholars are also convinced that not only John the Baptist but also the original core of men who established Christianity had been members of the Order. Some believe in addition that when their communes and headquarters were destroyed by the Romans, many of the Essenes became an integral and decisive element in the formation of the Christian movement. There was, in particular, one segment known as the Ebionites, or the Poor Men, who recreated in detail in their own literature, the doctrines, teachings, and discipline of the Essene communities. Actually, the three Synoptic Gospels, and especially Luke, are studded with statements in complete harmony with the cultic teachings, as is the so-called Sermon on the Mount, found in Matthew. The more we study the Dead Sea Scrolls and the early canonical Christian

Scriptures, the more striking are the parallels which become evident. We have already noted that two important Essene documents were widely accepted by the early Christian converts as genuine scriptures of their own. Perhaps these converts had previously been Essenes.

The Great Discovery

In 1947, an event of world-shaking significance occurred. An Arab shepherd-boy, following a stray goat, entered an aperture on the side of a cliff and stumbled into a cave where the Essenes had secreted a number of jars containing scrolls. However, few of these were intact; most had been broken, and their contents scattered about the floor, much of the material torn into shreds. Obviously, the caves had been invaded, perhaps several times, with damage which cannot easily be assessed. However, after the Arabs had recovered two virtually complete manuscripts of Isaiah, a copy of the *Manual of Discipline*, *The Thanksgiving Psalms*, *The Habakkuk Commentary*, the *Damascus Document*, and the *War scroll*, they sold these to a group in New York; and, in a short time, they were made available to the world in translations by Millar Burrows, Dupont-Sommer, Gaza Vermes, and Theodore Gaster.

Many More Scrolls Discovered

Then began an archeological search without parallel in religious history. One expedition after another went to the Dead Sea area in search of more scrolls. One team was headed by Millar Burrows, who states in his *Dead Sea Scrolls* that material sufficient to fill three large volumes was found in a single cave, cave four in which two-thirds was original Essene scripture and the remainder consisted of Jewish canonical books. After these were placed in the Jordanian Museum in Jerusalem, an international team of eight scholars were selected to collect, piece together, and prepare for publication this incomparable treasure of source-material; of these, four were Roman Catholics; three had Protestant affiliations; and only one, John Marco Allegro, was without personal religious commitment. Without much delay, Allegro translated and published everything committed to him, including the delicate *Copper Scroll*, which listed precious metals and jewels worth millions of dollars secreted somewhere in the desert—where they still remain. However, he published also the material which tells the story of how Jannaeus crucified the rabbis; and after he declared in an interview that the Teacher of Righteousness may have been crucified in 70 or 69 B.C., by the Jewish authorities, he was thereafter denied all access to the

Scrolls and was not even permitted to visit the Jordanian Museum in which they were kept. He complained bitterly that after years of delay not one line of the Scrolls, in addition to his, were translated and published; and this in spite of the fact that no less than 400 separate documents had been pieced together by 1965 and could just as easily have been given to the world, as were the four or five published shortly after the original discovery.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs contained a great many passages which had always be considered of Christian origin because they depict a personage in many respects similar to, or almost identical with, the character and mission attributed to Jesus in the New Testament. However, with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, this theory became untenable as fragments of the Testaments written nearly a century before the emergence of Christianity were found scattered about the caves which contained the very statements which had always been believed to be Christian interpolations. When I learned about these, I wrote to the curator of the Jordanian Museum offering to fly there if I would be permitted to photograph a piece of parchment from the *Testament of Levi*. He replied that if I came, I would not even be permitted to look at it, much less take a picture of it.

The Six-Day War of 1967

And so, even though year after year had slipped by without any additional publication of Scroll material, I continued to hope that someday it would become available. But then, as you know, a catastrophic event occurred in 1967—the Six-Day War, (as it is called) in which the Israelis seized all of Jerusalem, including the Jordanian Museum and its contents.

The Fate of the Scrolls

Over the years, until his death, I corresponded with Millar Burrows, who had written a sympathetic review of my book, *The Essene Heritage*, published in 1967. He refused to admit that there was any attempt to delay or prevent the publication of the Scrolls. Once he even declared that the Oxford Press was on the verge of releasing a large volume of this material; but the publishers stated to me in a letter that they had no such project under consideration.

Thus, year after year, I kept prodding Burrows on the subject, and his replies became more and more evasive until they ceased altogether.

One question continued to occupy my interest: what had become of the scrolls? Why were none of them published for so many

years? Sometimes I wondered whether they would survive or ever be made available to the public. However, we should note that even in the custody of the Jordanians, they were held in the strictest secrecy—and why? I could only surmise that extreme pressure had been exerted by both Christian and Jewish sources: from the former, because it would not be beneficial to them should it be established that this faith grew out of a Jewish cult and was, therefore, not an original revelation; nor would the Israelis wish the Scrolls released, since they were filled with fierce denunciations of Jewish religious leaders and civil authorities.

It is my considered opinion and my sad conclusion that the Dead Sea Scrolls will never be given to the world unless basic changes occur: first, they must be removed from the custody of the Israeli government and, second, we must establish an intellectual climate in the western world in which scholars and ministers can discuss religious subjects without fear of reprisals, in the form of lost prestige, removal from lucrative positions, loss of salaries or other sanctions which can be enforced against anyone who dares to interfere with the emoluments or the powers of those who are most powerful and influential in society.

I think it is as simple as that. And at the back of my mind lingers a gnawing fear that instead of being translated and published, the leather or parchment on which the Scrolls are inscribed, may be physically destroyed or become undecipherable before anything is done to release them. And it is highly significant that for several years there has been little or no discussion anywhere concerning the Scrolls. It seems that by ignoring the whole subject, its significance will die in the public consciousness.

The Museum in Jerusalem

From various friends who have recently returned from tours of the Middle East, I have learned a number of significant details. There is now in Jerusalem an onion-top-shaped building, designed to resemble the earthen jars in which the Scrolls were placed in 69 A.D.; most of the structure is underground and resembles a tunnel. This building is called the Shrine of the Book, and tourists are told that it houses not only the Dead Sea Scrolls, but also other documents found at the fortress of Massada and still others related to the revolt of Bar Kokhba which occurred in 135 A.D. A 24-foot Scroll of Isaiah is on open display. I have been told that documents said to be original Scrolls are to be seen under extremely thick glass covers. I have been told also that in case of an emergency such as an attack, all the cases containing the manuscripts could be lowered into an impregnable underground vault.

However, so far as I have been able to learn, no one is permitted to make an examination of these scrolls, touch them, or photograph them. No one, to whom I have talked, has the faintest idea of what is actually in the museum. And certainly, not one word of the Essene material has been published in the fourteen years that have elapsed since the Six-Day War.

Whether the Scrolls are there or in condition to be examined, I certainly do not know, nor have I been able to obtain any information on this score.

The Future of the Scrolls

What, if anything, the future holds in store in this field beyond what is now occurring, remains of course to be seen. I can think of no possible valid reason why the Scrolls have been withheld now for nearly thirty years. If they could not be prepared for publication in that length of time, would a century or two centuries be enough? It seems to me that unless we can rescue them from their present custody and also achieve a new and different intellectual world climate, there is little hope that anyone now living will ever see any translation of these scrolls.

I consider what has happened and is continuing to occur in the matter of the Scrolls the greatest cover-up of important historical material that has occurred in modern history. The enemies are the special interests and a fierce bigotry that can only continue to persist by ignoring one of the most important questions that have ever faced world-scholarship. I do not expect to see any new developments during my lifetime, and it is one of the great disappointments of my career as a scholar and writer.

(This live presentation of Dr. Larson is available on standard cassette tape at \$8.95 from the IHR)

El Salvador: The War to Come

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III

(Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference)

Introduction

News and its interpretation changes daily, if not hourly, but the lead story on the front page of the November 6 New York Times should have brought chills to Revisionists, whatever their historical period preference:

"Haig says U.S. Aid to Salvador Junta Must Be Increased" and subheaded: "He Indicates That Officials Are Studying Ways to Combat Arms Flow to Guerrillas."

The byline was held by long-time Times reporter, Hedrick Smith. The content was no less frightening than the headline. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig (whom Murray Rothbard refers to as the sane, restrained wing of the Reagan Administration on foreign policy,¹) said in an interview:

... that he was not ruling out actions outside El Salvador but related to that country's guerrilla war. And indirectly, Mr. Haig confirmed the substance of a report in The New York Times today disclosing that he had asked the Defense Department to examine measures for a possible blockade of Nicaragua, or actions around Cuba, including naval exercises, a show of air power, a quarantine or even stronger action, all aimed at curbing the arms flow toward El Salvador.²

Further on, Hendrick reports:

Administration officials have disclosed that beginning in June but accelerating recently, Mr. Haig and Robert MacFarlane, the State Department counselor, were pressing the Defense Department to develop contingency options for action against Nicaragua and Cuba.

One option raised was a blockade of Nicaragua, which Mr. Haig has called a transfer point for arms to El Salvador. Among the requested options of possible action toward Cuba, officials said, were a large naval exercise, a show of air power, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to Cuba, a general blockade as part of an act of war and an invasion by American and possible Latin American forces.

Contingency plans, as A.J.P. Taylor has shown us concerning Germany,³ are not necessarily acts of war or even threatening in themselves. However, these have followed a long period of the American State's saber-rattling on El Salvador and many take them seriously. For example, the Los Angeles Times editorialized, with a most appropriate heading, "El Salvador: The Spreading Crisis;" that:

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. has been rattling his sabers this week over El Salvador. Although occasional posturing is routine in international diplomacy, Haig's statements are worrisome when seen in the context of other recent events that could affect the crisis.⁴ Snapping one's mind right back to the early days of the Viet Nam conflict, the State Department now considers the civil war in El Salvador to be a stalemate.⁵

The countries involved in the wider region certainly take it seriously. Guatemala held recent talks with El Salvador's junta to coordinate military action, says the editorial, adding further:

This kind of activity, and the menacing words from Haig, have not gone unnoticed in Cuba and Nicaragua. Fidel Castro has denied reports that Cuban troops may be fighting alongside the Salvadoran insurgents. He also ordered his island's defense forces to stand at full alert, in anticipation of some overt move against his regime by the United States.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinistas also claim that they are prepared to repulse an expected invasion, in this case by supporters of late dictator Anastasio Somoza. If it comes through Honduran territory, they warn that the resulting war will spread throughout Central America.⁶

The Times concludes wimpishly:

So it is to be hoped that an escalation of the Salvadoran conflict is not necessary. If more troops must be sent in, it would be preferable that they come not only from military regimes like

Guatemala and Argentina. Democracies like Venezuela and Colombia also have a stake in the outcome of El Salvador's civil war, and they should be urged to help the Duarte government itself.

Even as I penned these words, The Los Angeles Times reported, "Reagan, Venezuela to 'Stand Together'." Lest we dismiss that as diplomatic rhetoric, the article states, "The two leaders agreed that the U.S. attempt to achieve peace in El Salvador through elections is the correct course, the official said. Reagan 'indicated emphatically that we reject both the right and left extremists and that our path is the democratic middle path' in El Salvador, the official said."⁸

One could interpret Reagan's actions as fulfilling the Cold War Liberals' conditions for support of American intervention. Or perhaps the Liberal media were rationalizing and putting their best face on. The real questions are "does this mean war?", "can it be stopped?" and "what can we do about it?"

There is another important question to be answered first. Can Revisionist History predict war?

Future Revisionism

To a large extent, the question of war prediction is of recent vintage. In the past, States were run by explicit ruling classes who weighed the gains and losses of going to war with other States and did so when it was in their interest or unavoidable. With the rise of democracy, majorities had to be swayed.

Statism can be used to redistribute wealth from few to many and can easily win votes for that. War, the health of the State as Randolph Bourne had it, never benefits the many. A majority can be convinced to support a war only if they're convinced they have no choice. That is, the majority must feel threatened and that they would lose more if they eschewed warfare.

Whatever the situation for small countries surrounded by big, rapacious States, the United States and Great Britain have never really been threatened with invasion and conquest. Germany and Russia, both of whom were devastatingly invaded twice this century, have far more grounds for fearing attack. Yet the British and American States have been involved in nearly all major conflicts of this century. One historical school has it that the British-American Imperialist Axis has been fighting one long war since 1914 with cold and hot periods.

The British were frankly imperialist at the turn of the century. By 1945 the constant warfare had devastated their economy and culture and their empire was gone. Yet they had "won" all their wars.

Small wonder that American Republicans warned against the United States becoming an empire from William Graham Sumner's *The Conquest of the United States by Spain* to Garet Garrett's *The Rise of Empire*.

The world was sick of war in 1919. Better educated masses with longer memory retention and majoritarian power, at least in *extremis*, became impervious to Statist blandishments for war. Those countries which could not vote out war overthrew their States and toppled their ruling classes. Bolsheviks took power with peace as the first plank in their platform; fascists seized power to withdraw their nations from the web of entanglements of the international bankers and their sponsored imperialism. In both cases, the hopes of the masses were deluded and then destroyed, but the impetus was there.

In this atmosphere, the Revisionist school of history flourished. Revising the court historians' establishment view of events, they sought original documents and reasons behind reasons given. They sought to explain war, how it happened and why, and later they investigated everything from the causes of the Depression to those of the American Constitution; again, always challenging the State's collegiate brothel of academic prostitutes.

Why?

Two reasons present themselves. First, the Revisionist Historians pursued Truth wherever it may lie, whatever the cost, whoever was hurt or discredited. Still, such an academic exercise would be quite sterile if it did not affect future choice of action. And, indeed, the Revisionists perceived the same conditions arising in 1938 that arose in 1912. They predicted war and they strove to prevent it.

To see the future would fix it indelibly. What will happen could not be changed. To predict the future is to extrapolate present conditions—causes—along the most probable lines of passage—effects. Such predictability, "if this goes on, that will happen" is the basis of science. Thus, History qua academic discipline has sought scientific validity by exhibiting sufficient understanding to predict the historical consequences of human actions. And Revisionists seek the same scientific basis.

Harry Elmer Barnes and Charles Beard saw the coming of World War II, opposed it, and were ready for immediate post-war Revisionist accounts. Though Revisionism was set back badly by the weak post-war reaction to the New Deal war misrepresentation so that Korea soon followed, Korea provided the renewal of disillusionment with statism that revived a new Revisionist wave ready for Viet Nam.

The American Imperialists had picked up the fallen banner of Imperium from the collapsing British one in World War II. The

U.S. and Britain traded places as senior and junior partner. By 1945 the American Empire effectively ruled the entire planet in coalition or alliance.

But the Churchill-Truman axis, consciously or unconsciously, realized the necessity of the threat of a foreign enemy to maintain the power of the State, the action of its citizen-victims. "Iron Curtain" speeches were made, the former staunch ally in Moscow was menaced, Stalin reacted with appropriate paranoia, and the world grouped around two imperial metropoles.

Only after the Fair Deal imperialists provoked the Cold War did Eastern Europe get converted into buffer states for the Russian Bolsheviks. China became the major Soviet ally in 1949 and they both moved to take Korea, an appendage to Soviet Asia and China's Manchuria. Half was already Soviet-bloc.

The United States could not win in Korea, and if it could, it dare not. If Douglas MacArthur had nuked Peiking and Moscow, the U.S. would have to invent another enemy. The failure of the American statists to fight for unconditional victory—a la Third Reich—left a frustrated populace and fertile grounds for Revisionism.

Revisionists warned of Viet Nam, but the sheer length of the drawn-out struggle allowed a strong Revisionist movement to grow during the war itself, a first for Revisionists. The legacy of Viet Nam is that the Revisionists are stronger and more accepted than anytime since 1919.

And now we, the Revisionists of 1982, are called upon to prove our value to our supporters, the consumers of our products. If we're so smart and our theories are right—what's going to happen next?

Imperialism On The Wax

There are certain premises needed to fulfill this demand. Each one requires a book on its own, or at least a paper as long as this one. Fortunately, they are not new and can be found already put forward and defended in the works of Revisionist giants, such as Barnes, James J. Martin, A.J.P. Taylor, Gabriel Kolko, William Appleman Williams, Murray Rothbard, G. William Domhoff, Leonard Liggio and R.A. Childs.

The first premise is that Washington and New York are the centers—is one center, really—of a political-economic empire, based on the American State, but controlling many of the other States in the world to different degrees and in different manners. This empire has a ruling elite who run the empire for their own benefit, that of their corporate holdings, and that of their friends, allies and relatives—that is, of this class. This is our second premise.

Our third premise is that the world is largely divided between this Empire—I call it American, though it has nothing to do with an Iowa farmer, a California fruit trucker or a New Orleans shopkeeper—and a smaller, weaker Empire centered in Moscow.

There are few neutrals—Switzerland and Finland are about it, maybe Costa Rica—though there is a lot of shifting back and forth on the borders. One side-switcher could also be considered a tertiary empire itself, and if China was that strong—which it is not—the great predictive Revisionist George Orwell would have 1984 right on the button. (He was close anyway.)

A fourth premise is that these Empires fight “brush-fire wars” in the marginal, borderline-countries for several reasons: retain control or gain control; protect existing investments or open new ones; make diplomatic gambits to affect general configuration of power in neighboring States for strategic purposes; and ultimately, to win popular support at home for a large war machine.

A fifth premise is that the natives of these countries on the Imperial borders have little preference for which Imperial Legion will rule them and would rather be left alone by both sides.

Finally, a premise should be added that “Left” and “Right,” Socialism, Communism, Fascism, Conservatism, Democracy, Populism and so on, have little to do with the alliances of internal political groups with external imperialist groups. Conservatives like Charles De Gaulle were a thorn in the American Imperium; China’s Communists urge the American Empire to even-greater anti-Sovietism. Everyone who opposes American hegemony is linked with Communism; everyone who opposes the Soviet hegemony is linked with the American State Capitalism.

With this seemingly long but actually highly abbreviated background, we may commence a Revisionist analysis of our present time, and, hopefully, the immediate future.

On the whole, Soviet Imperialism is a recent phenomenon and considerably overstated in hawkish American circles. Antony Sutton has made a fairly moderate case that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was almost completely financed and armed by Western plutocrats—a position once held only by the “fever swamps” of the far right. Libertarian economics indicates that the closer a State comes to pure State Communism, the closer its economy will be to chaos.

Here I may refer to my upcoming book, *Counter-Economics*, Ch. 3, on the large Counter-Economy which actually maintains the Soviet society. Though the USSR spends considerably more on sophisticated armament than anyone but the American State, how well the technology would work in a land where right and left shoes often don’t match or simply can’t be found in the official economy, is open to serious question.

Moreover, the history of direct Soviet intervention is a string of sordid disasters. Finland fought the USSR to a standstill in 1939 and most Russian conquests afterward were the result of first German and then Anglo-American assaults on the Western frontiers of the concerned states. The Soviet conquest of its eastern satellites was the conquest of a vacuum, the Russians being the only ones in the area heavily rearmed by the U.S. lend-lease.

The Soviets never intervened directly in China, Korea or Viet Nam. Their moves into Hungary and Czechoslovakia were simply restoring control in already occupied land, and today they are fighting a losing battle to hold their historic puppet in Afghanistan and are hesitant to attack heretical Poland and its turn to syndicalism.

The USSR has only two real pieces on the international chessboard to play: a paper nuclear force which has some deterrence to nuclear usage by the American Empire and the ability and willingness to supply all levels of military equipment—though limited in economic capacity to do so—to forces opposing the U.S. Empire. To many countries around the globe, the Soviets and Americans are interchangeable and one buys or refuses goods from either—like choosing between Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola.

Even in indirect imperialism the USSR has been hopelessly outclassed by the American imperialists. For all the Bircher talk of the globe turning Red, in reality, the Russian Empire has contracted in terms of client states since the 1960s. Ethiopia and Mozambique were minor gains, Angola is still contested, and Egypt and Somalia were minor losses. Viet Nam was a fairly good gain but more than offset by the loss of China. Laos and Cambodia are contested.

While the majority of governments profess some form of socialism, they are pro-American social democrats. The Socialist International, which supports Nicaragua and one wing of the Salvadoran rebels, for example, is simply lined up with one faction of the American Imperial Ruling Class against the other.⁹

There are currently three areas of hot conflict for the American Imperialists, and it is in these areas that the war will most likely break out—just as the Balkans were “hot” in 1912, Central Europe “hot” in 1938 and Korea and Viet Nam were festering sores with escalating battles in 1950 and 1961.

Let me first eliminate some unlikely possibilities. The American statists will not intervene in Poland or anywhere in Central Europe; that area is granted to the Soviet sphere of control. The same is true of Afghanistan, though they would draw the line at Iran and Pakistan. But the USSR has not moved into those unstable situations, largely because it's bogged down in Afghanistan.

It is also unlikely that war will break out in Korea again, because China has switched sides and controls Kim Il Sung. Southern Africa is headed for further negotiated settlements along the Rhodesian precedent, though whether SWAPO or Turnhalle will come out on top is open, but it probably matters as little as Rhodesia. Remember, Mugabe is tied to China and hence ultimately serves the American Empire.

The rest of Africa may see net U.S. gains; the American imperialists are on the side of the national liberators in Angola, Eritrea and Ogaden for a change. North Africa is another matter.

South America looks condemned to military juntas with occasional fascist dictatorships (such as Peronism), except for the democratic north of Colombia and Venezuela. Guyana, for example, could not go further left without Brazil crushing it and probably excusing an annexation. The Caribbean is currently volatile, but really little problem for the U.S Marines and fleet to control

The three hot spots for a future war, induced by both current instability and elimination of alternatives, are South-East Asia, the Middle East, and Central America.

South-East Asia is on the back burner now, but Cambodia is still hotly contested and China is itching to hit Viet Nam again. Thailand is threatened by Viet Nam but has the ASEAN pact behind it. The interlocking treaties here make 1914 look simple and there will be another war here soon. My humble revisionist opinion is that it won't be there sooner than the other hot spots, and even if it boils over, China can deal with it directly... unless the American Imperialists are bogged down elsewhere and the Russian Imperialists have settled Afghanistan and Poland. In that event, all bets are off and the U.S. will have to intervene to keep the Russians off the Chinese.

The next hotter spot is the Middle East. Iran is unstable, but Afghanistan has the USSR bogged down. Israel is probably not going to directly drag the U.S. into a war right away. The Trilateralist higher circles of America's power elite have clearly indicated their preference for Saudi Arabia as their top client state, and Israel has to swallow it. However, Israel could widen a lot more likely possibility of war, if not start its own.

The media attack on Muammar Qaddafi of Libya is stronger than anything since Idi Amin, yet Idi Amin was attacked for his internal policies. Qaddafi is blamed for everything from the IRA to Basque separatists to Maltese obstreperousness to airline hijackers. He supposedly has designs on the Sudan—which is no great prize—and Chad—which is a dead loss.

The recent U.S attack on Libyan airplanes over Libyan territory is reminiscent of the Reuben James incident of 1941 except that the

U.S. did not sacrifice their planes, but Qaddafi's.

Qaddafi is called a madman by the American Establishment press; that, of course, is a prelude to an attack. If a State is run by a madman, it cannot be trusted and the few little restraints of inter-state morality can be cast aside. War becomes justified.

Remember, the Kaiser was mad, Hitler was mad, Kim was mad, but Ho Chi Minh wasn't and look what it cost the U.S. in support. Actually, Qaddafi's Green Socialism is a mixed enterprise-communal economy supported by oil royalties. His stated intention is to abolish the Libyan government in his lifetime, and though he will sell out or die first, he's certainly the most libertarian statist rhetorically around, more than Ronald Reagan. But perhaps Reagan is only slightly less mad.

What the U.S. Imperialists dislike is that Qaddafi spends his State's money backing all sorts of wild cards in the world scene, such as the RAF, Brigate Rosse, IRA, ETA, and Japanese Red Army. The Soviets hate them equally, though they will sell military supplies to Libya rather than have the Yanks get the trade, or the French. The Soviet Imperialists also hope for a windfall gain which would fall in their lap if the U.S. attacked Libya and drove Qaddafi into accepting direct client status from Russia in desperation. Naturally, all political groups which are controlled neither by Washington and Moscow are terrorists. That is, they terrify the Politburo and the Trilateral Commission.

The Trilaterals were about to strike recently when Qaddafi pulled a master coup. By pulling out of Chad immediately upon the request of the very premier who invited him in, he stymied the invasion threat to his own country. Libya has cooled off, but may heat up again. Even then, Egypt can handle the invasion as a stand-in for U.S. troops, as long as the rest of Arabia stays out. In that situation, Israel could spark off a widened war and plunge the entire Eastern Mediterranean into the real holocaust.

(Events after the Conference change little in the analysis. Reagan's paranoid assassination fantasy was issued to counter Libya's withdrawal move and generally fell flat as no evidence was offered.)

Since the speaker immediately following is representing the Palestine Arab Delegation, I'll let him deal with the Palestinian factor and spend much more time on the situation there.

The hottest spot is Central America. Things may change but the Washington-New York Trilateral Empire wants a war for domestic as well as external reasons, and it looks like El Salvador is the center of that war-to-be.

El Salvador: The Lies Begin

Before we forget, this is a paper of Revisionist History. What we're going to revise, hopefully as fast as the Court Historians can spit it out, is the torrent of lies and distortions about the civil war in El Salvador. One way to predict a war is to see when the Imperial States are most distorting a situation and misrepresenting the sides.

According to the American statists, El Salvador is run by a junta of Christian Democrats and various moderate military people opposing the reactionary landowners, fascist police and military, and Communist and deluded left-socialists. The Left and Right are killing each other and Jose Napoleon Duarte, President of the Junta, is trying to keep down the terrorism and hold honest elections to settle the matter. Alas, the Nicaraguans are sending Cuban arms and money to the Salvadoran guerrillas which they undoubtedly got from Moscow. The massacres taking place are due to Duarte's difficulty in taking control, but with increased American assistance, order will be restored and his land reform can be consummated and eliminate the history of inequities.

None of the above is true.

Let us begin with the most crucial issue for justifying American intervention in El Salvador, the prior intervention of Sandinista Nicaragua and the Soviet proxy, Cuba.

When the State Department released its report on El Salvador on February 23, it also released 100 copies of a 1½-inch thick packet of documents to support the Reagan Administration's decision to increase military aid to the Salvadoran government. The meat of the documents' original raw intelligence consists of 47 pages of handwritten jottings, memoranda and minutes of meetings, culled from confiscated guerrilla files.¹⁰

Supposedly those documents were to show that socialist and communist countries were supporting the opposition to the junta, and with material, not just the usual rhetoric of solidarity.

But these very same documents—in addition to other intelligence reports available to the Reagan Administration that were not included in the White Paper—provide conclusions that fall far short of the Administration's portrayal of El Salvador as an arena of U.S.-Soviet confrontation.

The White Paper charges that 800 tons of arms were promised, and 200 tons were delivered, to the insurgents by the time of the (January) offensive. The captured documents, however, indicate that far lesser quantities were promised or in shipment, and only about 10 tons ever actually crossed the border.

Battlefield evidence gathered since January, including the statements of a captured Nicaraguan soldier-turned-informer,

reveals that the guerrillas were forced to depend on relatively antiquated rifles and other weapons purchased on the international black market.

In contrast to the Reagan administration's interpretation that the Soviet Union masterminded the arms traffic, the documents reveal that the guerrillas' Communist Party representative encountered a cool reception in Moscow, and was deeply concerned that Soviet "indecisiveness" might jeopardize any promise of arms made by other socialist countries.¹¹

So where did the State department come up with the 800 and 200 tons figures?

The highest figure mentioned anywhere in the documents is in a hand-written letter, dated Nov. 1, from a certain 'Vladimir,' who was identified by the State Department as the guerrilla's logistics coordinator in Nicaragua. He wrote that 150 tons of arms had arrived in Cuba, and that "This week" there would be a total of 300 to 400 tons destined for the guerrillas—but that plans to smuggle "109 tons" into El Salvador in November were "almost impossible." Another document, the minutes of a guerrilla General Staff meeting in late September, reported only four of 130 tons of arms in storage had been smuggled into El Salvador.¹²

The rest of this quoted source is rich in instant revisionism, but let me just hit a couple of high points.

Neither official battlefield reports nor journalists on the scene have reported large quantities of weapons captured from guerrillas.

Other sources of intelligence that tended to contradict the picture of huge arms shipments were available to Reagan analysts, but were not included in the packet of documents.

And, finally,

The key document in Reagan's case that the Soviet Union is the mastermind behind the insurgency, is a report of Salvadoran Communist Party chief Shafik Handal's tour of Viet Nam, Ethiopia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany and the Soviet Union last June and July. It is the only piece of evidence that actually mentions the Soviet Union, with the exception of a passing reference in another document to a "Sov." being present at a meeting in Mexico City with socialist diplomats. According to the White Paper, Handal left Moscow "with assurances that the Soviets agreed in principle to transport Vietnamese arms."

The supporting document, however, reports that Handal "exposed his unhappiness with the denial of a meeting at the proper level and the non-resolution of the request for help." A few weeks later, according to the document, the Soviets granted his request to give military training to 30 (presumably Salvadoran) youths studying in Moscow, but ignored his request to ship the Vietnamese arms. The document concluded, "The campaniero (Handal) expressed his concern that the Soviets' indecisiveness

could affect not only the help they might give but also (prejudice) the willingness to cooperate of the other parties of the European Socialist camp. . ." There, in mid-sentence, the document provided by the State Department ends.¹³

What little foreign support the Salvadoran opposition gets is a few dollars they spend in the black market. This justifies the U.S. sending the junta "\$35 million in military aid this year and studying requests for over \$200 million in economic assistance"?¹⁴ In fact, the only major foreign intervention in El Salvador is the American State's, that of the Trilateral Imperialists. The countries in the area saw it that way on March 11:

. . .the key governments in Latin America—Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina—have responded to United States charges that the Soviet bloc is supplying weapons to the Salvadoran guerrillas with warnings against deeper United States military involvement in El Salvador. And with rare unanimity they have called for a negotiated solution to the simmering civil war.

"I don't see why it is any more legitimate for the United States to arm the junta than for the guerrillas to get weapons from whatever they can," a Mexican official noted! . . . Mexico's President, Jose Lopez Portillo, noted last month: "The crisis that has its temporary epicenter in the Salvadoran conflict has become a spiral that threatens to involve all the states in the area. For this reason, it is necessary to avoid the internationalization of the crisis through a combined policy that has the objective of rigorously preserving the principles of self-determination and non-intervention."

Mexico and Venezuela, in particular, seem worried that further militarization of the Salvadoran conflict might polarize the entire isthmus, heightening the domestic crises in Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua and prompting regional governments to meddle openly in each others' affairs.¹⁵

So we see there is no Red intervention requiring an American response to balance the scales, or whatever, and the attitude of all the other States in the area is isolationist or non-interventionist, if you prefer. Most of these states are pro-American and some are right-wing dictatorships. The only imperialism in the area is American.

What about the manace of an internal Red takeover? Anti-interventionists may support a policy of self-determination in other countries, but if a few million dollars and a few advisors could tip the balance and save El Salvador from becoming another Cuba—or even Nicaragua—why bother being worked up to oppose it?

Space and time limitations prevent me from fully diagnosing the internal situation of El Salvador. Let me recommend "El Salvador: The Myth of Progressive Reform" by Roy A. Childs in the June 1981 issue of *Libertarian Review*. The land reform fiasco

of Duarte is spelled out in pages of gory detail. Let me give you one irresistible tidbit.

Within days of the original land decree 153, the military swept through El Salvador, invaded farms, and told the peasants that land reform was an accomplished fact. They were to regard the land as theirs, elect their own leadership and, for the first time in their lives, farm land which was their own property. The peasants, who had heretofore been forbidden to organize, were now ordered to organize. But they did manage to elect leaders, and the Army then came back and shot those elected. Eyewitness reports indicate that several times soldiers poured back onto the farms within days after the elections, took away the leaders, and machine-gunned them. More than two hundred peasant leaders are reported to have been killed that way.¹⁶

This is the moderate, benevolent, Centrist government which is to save the Salvadorans from the horrible fate of communism and deserves the blood and treasure of the American people?

Way back in 1972, a ticket of Duarte for president and Guillermo Ungo, leader of the Social Democrats, won an election, against candidates of two major power blocs, the military and the landed oligarchy—the infamous 14 families. The military's candidate, Colonel Arturo Molina, promptly overthrew the government. In 1977, Molin was ousted by the oligarch's man, General Humberto Romero. On 18 October, 1979, the U.S. backed a coup by reformist military officers—one of three coups being planned—and ousted Romero. The junta brought in the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in a joint civilian-military junta.

The Social Democrats quit and today Ungo, Duarte's former running mate, heads the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

By mid-February, following a denunciation by the extreme rightists D'Abuisson, armed men broke into the home of the Christian Democratic Solicitor-General of the second junta and machine-gunned him to death. The entire left wing of the Christian Democrats withdrew in protest. Remaining in place as the last fig leaf of the "center" was the right Christian Democrat, Jose Napoleon Duarte.¹⁷

The oligarchs and military oppose Duarte and freely murder opponents in massacres, including the assassination of Archbishop Romero, the Catholic leader of El Salvador. The left, the Faribundo Marti Liberation Front, oppose the government in armed combat and counter-terror. The moderate left and center, in the DRF, oppose Duarte. No one is left to prop up Duarte—except the American interventionists.

Sound like Viet Nam after Diem's death? You bet. After two years of direct U.S. intervention, we hear the Secretary of State demand massive additional aid, proxy troops, and, maybe, just

maybe, direct U.S. military intervention, against not only El Salvador guerrillas, but widening the war to engulf Central America.

I rest my case for The Coming War as being in El Salvador. You may recall that Ronald Reagan welched on his promise to abolish draft registration in this country. To a Revisionist audience I hardly need say more, except to look to your aware conscience and take appropriate action.

The War Keeps Coming: Update

Updates, or follow-ups, are undoubtedly rare in historical publications. And authors taking a flyer at prophecy and prediction are usually loath to re-examine their claims for verification later. This revisionist author welcomes the opportunity offered by *The Journal of Historical Review*'s editor to observe, six months after my announcement of it last November at the 1981 IHR Revisionist Conference, to see how "The War To Come" is coming along.

Actually, my thesis was formulated over a year ago at a small libertarian meeting: the United States government, or at least powerful elements in the American States, treads a path that leads to War—at least of the nature and involvement (of the citizenry) of the Viet Nam War. The basis for my prediction was the science, or at least proto-science, of Revisionist History. In a nutshell, if revisionism tells us what led to a war (what it's most often used for and for which he have the most data), then, scientifically speaking, it should tell us what leads to war. A science, once the rules are discovered, must be predictive to be conclusive.

Nearly six months later, in early November of 1981, the article was written and presented to the Third Annual Revisionist History Conference sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review. The additional six months more than doubled my references (many of which were footnoted in the article) and doubled my confidence in the predictions. Since then another six months have passed and the predictions. Since then another six April of 1982, we stand on the brink of a full-scale Viet-Nam War right where I pointed.

True, various leftists and rightists and other libertarians have viewed the situation in Central America with alarm and cries of potential conflict. Many of them have seen wars everywhere, though, such as in Angola and Zimbabwe and various Middle Eastern sites, none of which came off. If one predicts wars everywhere, one will eventually be correct. Today, even many establishment newspapers and other media see a war horizon...

but they also see various signs of backing away or some sort of "victory" before any get going in earnest. What all the above have in common is wish-fulfillment: both the positive one of seeing the American-centered Empire enmeshed and humiliated again, and the negative one of warning the U.S. off before it gets enmeshed and humiliated.

None of the above are scientific. Nor is Revisionist History—the collection of knowledge, facts and interpretations of facts—consulted save selectively and for partisan purpose. Most importantly, except for the Marxists perhaps, no one else is really offering a scientific claim for the prediction of events among States and within States. And those Marxists who try to proceed scientifically simply end up as one school of revisionism, which is not to denigrate the contributions of such as C. Wright Mills, Gabriel Kolko, and William Appleman Williams to revisionism.

In "El Salvador: The War To Come" a combination of premises from compilation of past revisionist work with modern data, mostly in the form of fairly accessible press clippings, led to the following conclusions. First, the nature of States, at least in recent history, and their reactions to internal economic crises, leads the revisionist to see a War seen as solution to these internal problems. Second, the class nature of the States—for whom the State acts to benefit—leads us to certain conclusions as to where the War will happen and even when to an extent. Third, the actions of States so far in relation to other States (diplomacy and military maneuvers) follow a predictable trend and after a certain point approach inevitability of conflict. These premises were spelled out in specific for the context of 1981 and the actual world was observed.

By a rapid process of elimination, the most likely scenarios were selected. Third most likely was Cambodia, and, indeed, since that prediction Viet Nam heated up their attack on the Khmer Rouge to end that threat. Hanoi not only failed to finish off the Indochina struggle but pushed the Chinese-backed Reds closer than ever to a coalition with the U.S.-backed Khmer Serei and neutralist Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The theatre is still on the back-burner relative to the Middle East and Central America, but continues to heat up.

When Libya was first predicted as the site of the second most likely theatre for War with the American State, we had only got as far as the American shooting down of Libyan planes over Libyan-claimed waters. A revisionist scenario akin to the provoking of the Japanese to commit Pearl Harbor was seen. By the time the original article was submitted to *The Journal for Historical Review* for publication, President Ronald Reagan had imagined Qaddafi-unleashed assassins stalking the U.S. to slay him.

Imagined? On 10 March 1982, neutralist, non-interventionist (or Isolationist, as we die-hards like to call it) Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria welcomed Muammar Qaddafi to Vienna and replied to the questions of his parliamentary opposition and the Austrian press, as reported by the *Los Angeles Times*, (11 March, page 9):

Kreisky responded that recent U.S. charges that (Qaddafi) sent "hit squads" to the United States were groundless propaganda and that there was no reason to keep the Libyan leader from accepting an invitation extended by Austria long ago. "There is absolutely no evidence for charges that Qaddafi is the so-called father of terrorism," Kreisky said.

Within a day, in fact reported in that very same day's edition of the *Los Angeles Times*, the U.S. responded to this revelation by announcing discovery of a new plot by Libya, to blow up a club in Sudan where Americans, especially women and children, hung out, and banning Libyan oil. U.S. material to Libya, save food or medicine, was banned without a special licence. And President Reagan upped the lie denied by Kreisky, claiming that Qaddafi's perfidies "includes the training of 5,000 terrorists a year who are then sent on missions 'from Ireland to the Philippines.'"

From the Reuben James (Libyan aircraft) sinking to the insulting of ambassadors (calling Qaddafi a madman), lying about Japanese alliances and military objectives (same for Libya), freezing of assets and blocking of trade (banning of Libyan oil and exports to Libya), we await only some sort of Pearl Harbor to complete the revisionist scenario to War in the Middle East. So far, Qaddafi seems less willing to play kamikaze.

Even so, Libya and the rest of the Middle East seems more like a diversion, or a "spare war in the pocket" for Reagan and the Administration should the prime target not take off in Central America. They seem to have little reason to fear. The \$35 million in military aid for 1981 has already jumped over a hundred million and "non-military" aid is several times that. The U.S. advisors who were sent last year have since been reported to be carrying arms and even using them on guerrillas of the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNL).

One of the contentions of the original paper presented was that the U.S. would engulf the whole of Central America in a war which began with an attempt to suppress the Salvadoran rebels. Sure enough, Guatemala and Honduras were provoked into having elections, and Guatemala promptly went through two coups while the war against their guerrillas continued. Meanwhile, Nicaragua armed itself, though nowhere near as much as

claimed by the U.S. nor with anywhere near the support from Cuba and the USSR claimed (see The Lies Begin section of the last paper). For example, in a response that they had lengthened airstrips for Soviet-built MiG fighters, Sandinista spokesman (then visiting the U.S.), Jaime Wheelock, said there are no Soviet MiGs in Nicaragua and that "we don't expect to have any." (Same edition of the *Los Angeles Times* cited.) Furthermore,

Wheelock repeated charges made previously by the Sandinista government that the United States, in conjunction with the rightist regimes of Argentina and Chile, is undertaking a covert operation to achieve the economic, political and military destabilization of Nicaragua Asked Wednesday about reports of such a covert operation, Haig said it would be "inappropriate for me to comment"

One would not have to bend Central America around too much to put El Salvador in South Viet Nam's place, Nicaragua in North Viet Nam's, perhaps Guatemala for Laos and Honduras for Cambodia.

The most recent event at the time of the writing of this update is the Salvadoran election. For an ostensibly democratic country as the United States, an election is paramount to proving that the Trilateral Empire is really backing the good guys. In Viet Nam, an election without the National Liberation Front simply led to coups and further internal chaos. How about the El Salvador election of 28 March 1982?

Of course, it's too early to tell too much. the New York Times of Tuesday, 30 March claimed the U.S. was jubilant and the FMLN demoralized because "900,000 of the estimated 1.3 million eligible voters had turned out, a figure greatly exceeded expectations. . . ." Actually, only the previous week 800,000 were predicted and the newspapers were careful to point out then that there were three million Salvadorans of voting age. That is, less than a third of El Salvador chose to engage in ballots.

But that's not the worst problem. Only 40% voted for President Jose Napoleon Duarte's Christian Democrats, with 60% of the seats of the constituent assembly going to five rightist parties. 28% went to Roberto d'Aubuisson of the National Republican Alliance or ARENA, which had never run before this election. ARENA is as close to a fascist party as can exist today without Benito Mussolini leading it. As the New York Times put it:

The Christian Democrats had hoped to appeal to voters with their economic changes—the redistribution of land and the nationalization of banks and the export of basic commodities. However, Mr. d'Aubuisson ran an unexpectedly strong race on

calls to wipe out the guerrillas in three months and to reverse the land redistribution. He pledged to rid the country of "Communists," a group in which he included the Christian Democrats.

In short, the U.S. is about to lose control of their chosen government to a nationalist, if not anti-American, rightist coalition, one which shall certainly have no support among American liberals. Remember all the problems Lyndon Johnson had with Nguyen Cao Ky.

Of course, the Trilateral Imperialists will attempt to buy off some of the smaller parties or, should that fail, force in Duarte or other Christian Democrats anyway. Remember that the coup which brought Duarte in was against precisely the same landed-oligarchy-backed type leader as d'Aubuisson is, and that National Conciliation Party is now angrily backing ARENA in revenge.

I concluded "El Salvador: The War To Come" with "No one is left to prop up Duarte-except the American interventionists" and "Sounds like Viet Nam after Diem's death? You bet." You bet still. I also noted that Reagan welched on his promise to abolish draft registration. He still has. The economy is worse and the U.S. is deeper than ever in El Salvadoran politics and military operations.

Six months from now, should predictive revisionism hold scientifically, I cannot imagine any alternative to an update save to describe the Ongoing War.

Footnotes

1. *The Smart Set*, October 1981, page 4.
2. *The New York Times*, November 6, 1981, page one, as titled in text.
3. *Ibid.*, page 4.
4. *L.A. Times*, Part II, page 6, November 13, 1981.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Los Angeles Times*, November 18, 1981, Part I, page 6.
9. See, for example, the *Yankee and Cowboy War* by Carl Oglesby for a crude picture of internal U.S. power elite Divisions.
10. "White Paper or Blank Paper?" by John Dinges, *Los Angeles Times*, Tuesday, March 17, 1981, Part II, page 7.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. "The Salvador Strategy" by Alan Riding, *New York Times*, Wednesday, March 11, 1981, page 2.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Source as quoted in text, pages 32-33.
17. "El Salvador, Reagan's War" by Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway, *The Village Voice*, March 4-10, 1981, page 10.

Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?

Dr. ROBERT FAURISSON

1. Is the Diary of Anne Frank genuine? For two years that question was included in the official syllabus of my seminar on Text and Document Criticism. (This seminar is reserved for students in their fourth year, already equipped with a degree.)

2. The Diary of Anne Frank is a fraud. That was the conclusion of our studies and research. That is the title of the book I will publish.

3. In order to study the question posed and to find an answer to it, I have carried out the following investigations:

Chapter one: Internal criticism: the very text of the Diary (Dutch text) contains an inexplicable number of unlikely or inconceivable facts. (Paragraphs 4-12.)

Chapter two: A study of the premises in Amsterdam: on the one hand, the physical impossibilities and, on the other hand, the explanations made up by Anne Frank's father severely compromise him. (Paragraphs 13-17)

Chapter three: Interview of the principal witness: Mr. Otto Frank; as it turned out, that interview overwhelmed Anne Frank's father. (Paragraphs 18-47.)

Chapter four: Bibliographical examination: some curious silences and revelations. (Paragraphs 48-55.)

Chapter five: A return to Amsterdam for a new investigation: the hearing of the witnesses turns out to be unfavorable to Mr. Frank; the probable truth. (Paragraphs 56-63.)

Chapter six: The " betrayer" and the person who arrested the Franks: why has Mr. Frank wished to assure them such anonymity? (Paragraphs 64-71.)

Chapter seven: Comparison between the Dutch text and the German text: attempting to make too much of it, Mr. Frank has

given himself away; he has signed a literary fraud. (Paragraphs 72-103.)

Chapter One

4. Internal criticism: the very text of the Diary (Dutch text) contains an inexplicable number of unlikely or inconceivable facts.

5. Let us take the example of the noises. Those in hiding, we are told, must not make the least sound. This is so much so that, if they cough, they quickly take codeine. The "enemies" could hear them. The walls are that "thin" (25 March 1943). Those "enemies" are very numerous: Lewin, who "knows the whole building well" (1 October 1942), the men from the store, the customers, the deliverymen, the agent, the cleaning woman, the night watchman Slagter, the plumbers, the "health service," the accountant, the police who increase their searches, the neighbors both near and far, the owner, etc. It is therefore unlikely and inconceivable that Mrs. Van Daan had the habit of using the vacuum cleaner each day at 12:30 p.m. (5 August 1943). The vacuum cleaners of that era were, moreover, particularly noisy. I ask: "How is that conceivable?" My question is not purely formal. It is not rhetorical. Its purpose is not to show astonishment. My question is a question. It is necessary to respond to it. That question could be followed with forty other questions concerning noises. It is necessary to explain, for example, the use of an alarm clock (4 August 1943). It is necessary to explain the noisy carpentry work: the removal of a wooden step, the transformation of a door into a swinging cupboard (21 August 1942), the making of a wooden candlestick (7 December 1942). Peter splits wood in the attic in front of the open window (23 February 1944). It involved building with the wood from the attic "a few little cupboards and other odds and ends (11 July 1942). It even involved constructing in the attic . . . 'a little compartment' for working (13 July 1943). There is a nearly constant noise from the radio, from the slammed doors, from the "resounding peal" (6 December 1943), the arguments, the shouts, the yelling, a "noise that was enough to awaken the dead." (9 November 1942), "A great din and disturbance followed. . . I was doubled up with laughter" (10 May 1944). The episode reported on 2 September 1942 is irreconcilable with the necessity of being silent and cautious. There we see those in hiding at dinner. They chatter and laugh. Suddenly, a piercing whistle is heard. And they hear the voice of Peter who shouts through the stove pipe that he will certainly not come down. Mr. Van Daan gets up, his napkin falls and, his face flushed, he shouts: "I've had enough of this." He goes up to the attic and there, resistance and the

stamping of feet. The episode reported on 10 December 1942 is of the same kind. There we see Mrs. Van Daan being looked after by the dentist Dussel. The latter touches a bad tooth with his probe. Mrs. Van Daan then lets out "incoherent cries of pain" She tries to pull the little probe away. The dentist looks at the scene, his hands on his hips. The onlookers all "roared with laughter." Anne, instead of showing the least distress in the face of these cries or this mad laughter, declares: "It was rotten of us, because I for one am quite sure that I should have screamed even louder."

6. The remarks that I am making here in regard to noises I could repeat in regard to all of the realities of physical and mental life. The Diary even presents the peculiarity that not one aspect of the life that is lived there avoids being either unlikely, incoherent, or absurd. At the time of their arrival in their hiding place, the Franks install some curtains to hide their presence. But, to install curtains at windows which did not have them up until then, is that not the best means of drawing attention to one's arrival? Is that not particularly the case if those curtains are made of pieces of "*all different shapes, quality and pattern*" (11 July 1942)? In order not to betray their presence, the Franks burn their refuse. But in doing this they call attention to their presence by the smoke that escapes from the roof of a dwelling that is supposed to be uninhabited! They make a fire for the first time on 30 October 1942, although they arrived in that place on 6 July. One asks oneself what they could have done with their refuse for the 116 days of the summer. I recall, on the other hand, that the deliveries of food are enormous. In normal conditions, the persons in hiding and their guests each day consume eight breakfasts, eight to twelve lunches and eight dinners. In nine passages of the book they allude to bad or mediocre or insufficient food. Otherwise the food is abundant and "delicious." Mr. Van Daan "takes a lot of everything" and Dussel takes "enormous helpings" of food (9 August 1943). On the spot they make wet and dry sausages, strawberry jam and preserves in jars. Brandy or alcohol, cognac, wines and cigarettes do not seem to be lacking either. Coffee is so common that one does not understand why the author, enumerating (23 July 1943) what each would wish to do on the day when they would be able to leave that hiding place, says that Mrs. Frank's fondest wish would be to have a cup of coffee. On the other hand, on 3 February 1944—during the terrible winter of '44—here is the inventory of the supplies available for those in hiding alone, to the exclusion of any cohabiting friend or "enemy": 60 pounds of corn, nearly 60 pounds of beans and 10 pounds of peas, 50 cans of vegetables, 10 cans of fish, 40 cans of milk, 10 kilos of powdered milk, 3 bottles of salad oil, 4 preserving jars of butter, 4 jars of meat, 2 bottles of strawberries, 2 bottles of

raspberries, 20 bottles of tomatoes, 10 pounds of rolled oats, and 8 pounds of rice. There enter, at other moments, some sacks of vegetables each weighing 25 kilos, or again a sack of 19 pounds of green peas (8 July 1944). The deliveries are made by a "nice green grocer," and always "during the lunch hour" (11 April 1944). This is hard to believe. In a city described elsewhere as starving, how could a green grocer leave his store, in broad daylight, with such loads to go to deliver them to a house located in a busy neighborhood? How could this green grocer, in his own neighborhood (he was "at the corner"), avoid meeting his normal customers for whom, in that time of scarcity, he ought normally to be a person to be sought out and begged for favors? There are many other mysteries in regard to other merchandise and the manner in which it reaches the hiding place. For holidays, and for the birthdays of the persons in hiding, the gifts are plentiful: carnations, peonies, narcissuses, hyacinths, flower pots, cakes, books, sweets, cigarette lighters, jewels, shaving necessities, roulette games, etc. I would draw attention to a real feat achieved by Elli. She finds the means of offering some grapes on 23 July 1943. I repeat: some grapes, in Amsterdam, on 23 July. They even tell us the price: 5 florins per kilo.

7. The invention of the "swinging cupboard" is an absurdity. In fact, the part of the house which is supposed to have protected the persons in hiding existed well before their arrival. Therefore, to install a cupboard is to point out, if not someone's presence, at least a change in that part of the property. That transformation of the premises—accompanied by the noise of the carpentry work—could not have escaped the notice of the "enemies" and, in particular, of the cleaning woman. And this pretended "subterfuge," intended to mislead the police in case of a search, is indeed likely, to the contrary, to put them on their guard. ("... a lot of houses are being searched for hidden bicycles," says Anne on 21 August 1942, and it is for that reason that the entrance door of the hiding place had been thus hidden.) The police, not finding any entrance door to the building which serves as a hiding place would have been surprised by this oddity and would have quickly discovered that someone had wanted to fool them, since they would find themselves before a residential building without an entrance!

8. Improbabilities, incoherencies, absurdities abound likewise in regard to the following points: the windows (open and closed), the electricity (on and off), the coal (appropriated from the common pile without the "enemies" realizing it), the openings and closings of the curtains or the camouflage, the use of the water and of the toilet, the means of doing the cooking, the

movements of the cats, the moving from the front-house to the annex (and vice-versa), the behavior of the night watchman, etc. The long letter of 11 April 1944 is particularly absurd. It reports a case of burglary. Let it be said in passing that the police are there portrayed to us as stopping in front of the "swinging cupboard," in the middle of the night, under the electric light, in search of the burglars who committed the housebreaking. They rattle the "swinging cupboard". These police, accompanied by the night watchman, do not notice anything and do not seek to enter the annex! As Anne says: "God truly protected us. . . "

9. On 27 February 1943, they tell us that the new owner has fortunately not insisted on visiting the annex. Koophuis told him that he did not have the key with him, and that the new owner, although accompanied by an architect, did not examine his new acquisition either on that day or on any other day.

10. When one has a whole year to choose a hiding place (see 5 July 1942), does one choose his office? Does one bring his family there? And a colleague? And the colleague's family? Do you choose a place full of "enemies" where the police and the Germans would come automatically to search for you if they do not find you at your home? Those Germans, it is true, are not very inquisitive. On 5 July 1942 (a Sunday) father Frank (unless it is Margot?!?) received a "summons" from the SS (see the letter of 8 July 1942). That "summons" would not have any follow-up. Margot, sought by the SS, makes her way to the hiding place by bicycle, and on 6 July, when, according to the first of two letters dated 20 June, the Jews had had their bicycles confiscated for some time.

11. In order to dispute the authenticity of the Diary, one could call upon arguments of a psychological, literary or historical nature. I will refrain from that here. I will simply remark that the physical absurdities are so serious and numerous that they must have an effect on the psychological, literary and historical levels.

12. One ought not to attribute to the imagination of the author or to the richness of her personality some things that are, in reality, inconceivable. The inconceivable is "that of which the mind cannot form any likeness since the terms which designate it involve an impossibility or a contradiction": for example, a squared circle. The one who says that he has seen one squared circle, ten squared circles, one hundred squared circles does not give evidence either of a fertile imagination or of a rich personality. For, in fact, what he says means exactly nothing. He proves his poverty of imagination. That is all. The absurdities of the

Diary are those of a poor imagination which develops outside of a lived experience. They are worthy of a poor novel or of a poor lie. Every personality, however poor it may be, contains what it is proper to call psychological, mental or moral contradictions. I will refrain from demonstrating here that Anne's personality contains nothing like that. Her personality is invented and is as hard to believe as the experience that the Diary is supposed to relate. From a historical point of view, I would not be surprised if a study of the Dutch newspapers, the English radio and Dutch radio from June 1942 to August 1944 would prove fraud on the part of the real author of the diary. On 9 October 1942, Anne speaks already of Jews "being gassed" (Dutch text: "vergassing")!

Chapter Two

13. *Study of the premises in Amsterdam:* on the one hand, the physical impossibilities and, on the other hand, the explanations made up by Anne Frank's father severely compromise him.

14. Whoever has just read the *Diary* can normally only be shocked on seeing the "Anne Frank House" for the first time. He discovers a "glass house" which is visible and observable from all sides and accessible on its four sides. He discovers also that the plan of the house—as it is reproduced in the book through the good offices of Otto Frank—constitutes a distortion of reality. Otto Frank had taken care not to draw the ground floor and had taken care not to tell us that the small courtyard separating the front house from the annex only 12 feet 2 inches (3.7 meters) wide. He had especially taken care not to point out to us that this same small courtyard is common to the "Anne Frank House" (263 Prinsengracht) and to the house located to the right when you look at the facade (265 Prinsengracht). Thanks to a whole series of windows and window-doors, the people of 263 and those of 265 lived and moved about under the eyes and under the noses (cooking odors!) of their respective neighbors. The two houses are really only one. Besides, the museum today connects the two houses. Furthermore, the annex had its own entrance thanks to a door leading, from the rear, to a garden. This garden is common to 263 Prinsengracht and to the people opposite, living at 190 Keizersgracht. (When one is in the museum one very distinctly sees those people at 190 and many other addresses on Keizersgracht.) From this side (the garden side) and from the other side (the canal side) I counted two hundred windows of old houses from which people had a view of the "Anne Frank House."

Even the residents of 261 Prinsengracht could have access to 263 by the roofs. It is foolish to let yourself believe in the least possibility of a really secret life in those premises. I say that while taking into account, of course, the changes made to the premises since the war. While pointing out the view on the garden, I asked ten successive visitors how Anne Frank could have lived there hidden with her family for twenty-five months. After a moment of surprise (for the visitors to the museum generally live in a sort of state of hypnosis), each of the ten successive visitors realized, in a few seconds, that it was totally impossible. The reactions were varied; with some, dismay; with others, an outburst of laughter ("My God!"). One visitor, no doubt offended, said to me: "Don't you think that it is better to leave the people to their dreams?" No one supported the thesis of the Diary in spite of some rather pitiful explanations furnished by the prospectus or by the inscriptions in the museum.

15. The explanations are the following: (1) The "enemies" finding themselves in one of the rooms of the front house believed that the windows which look out on the small courtyard look directly on the garden; they were unaware therefore even of the existence of an annex; and if they were unaware of that, it is because the windows were hidden by black paper, to assure the conservation of the spices stored there; (2) as regards the Germans, they had never thought of the existence of an annex, "especially as this type of building was quite unknown to them"; (3) The smoke from the stove "did not draw their attention since at that time the part (where they were located) served as a laboratory for the small factory, where a stove likewise must have burned every day." The first two of these three explanations come from a 36 page booklet, without title and without date, printed by Koersen, Amsterdam. The last comes from the four page prospectus that is available at the entrance to the museum. The content of these two publications has received the endorsement of Mr. Otto Frank. But in all three cases these explanations have not the least value. The annex was visible and obvious from a hundred aspects from the ground floor (forbidden to visitors), from the garden, from the connecting corridors on four levels, from the two windows of the office on the courtyard, from the neighboring houses. Certain of the "enemies" even had to visit there to go to the toilet since there was nothing for that in the front house. The ground floor of the rear house even admitted some customers of the business. As to the "small factory" which is supposed to have existed "in that period," in the very heart of that residential and commercial neighborhood, it is supposed to have remained for at least two years without emitting smoke, and then, suddenly, on 30 October 1942 it is supposed to have begun

again to emit the smoke. And what smoke! Day and night! In winter as in summer, in sweltering heat or not. In the view of everyone (and, in particular, of "enemies" like Lewin who had formerly had his chemical laboratory there), the "small factory" would have started up again! But why did Mr. Frank strain his wits to find that explanation, since, in other respects, the annex is already described as a sort of ghost-house?

16. In conclusion on this point, I would say that, if I am not mistaken in denying any value in these "explanations," we have the right to assert: (1) Some facts that are very important to Mr. Otto Frank remain without explanation; (2) Mr. Otto Frank is capable of making up stories, even stupid and mediocre stories, exactly like the ones I have pointed out in my critical reading of the Diary. I ask that my reader remember this conclusion. He will see below what answer Mr. Frank personally made to me, in the presence of his wife.

17. For the photographic documentation concerning the "Anne Frank House," see Appendix No. 1.

Chapter Three

18. *Interview of the principal witness, Mr. Otto Frank.* This interview turned out to be overwhelming for Anne Frank's father.

19. I had made it known to Mr. Otto Frank that with my students I was preparing a study of the Diary. I had made it clear that my specialty was the criticism of texts and documents and that I needed an extended interview. Mr. Frank granted me that interview with eagerness, and it was thus that I was received at his residence in Birsfelden, a suburb of Basel, first on 24 March 1977; from 10:00 am to 1:00 pm, then from 3:00 pm to 6:00 pm and, finally, the next day, from 9:30 am to 12:30 pm. Actually, on the next day the meeting place had been arranged to be in a bank in Basel. Mr. Frank was intent upon taking out of a safe deposit box, in my presence, what he called the manuscripts of his daughter. Our interview was therefore carried out on that day in part at the bank, in part on the road back toward Birsfelden and, in part, once more, at Mr. Frank's residence. All the interviews that took place at his residence were in the presence of his wife (his second wife, since the first died after being deported, from typhus it seems, as did Margot and Anne). After the first minute of our interview, I declared point blank to Mr. and Mrs Frank that I had some doubts about the authenticity of the Diary. Mr. Frank did

not show any surprise. He declared himself to be ready to furnish me all of the information I would want. I was struck, during those two days, by the extreme amiability of Mr. Frank. In spite of his age—88 years—he never used the excuse of his weariness in order to shorten our interview. In the Diary, he is described as a man full of charm (see 2 March 1944). He inspires confidence. He knows how to anticipate your unexpressed desires. He adapts himself remarkably to situations. He willingly adopts an argument based on emotion. He speaks very much of tolerance and of understanding. I only once saw him lose his temper and show himself to be uncompromising and violent; that was in regard to the Zionist cause, which must seem sacred to him. It was in that manner that he declared to me that he no longer even sets foot on the soil of France since, in his opinion, France is no longer interested in anything except Arab oil and doesn't care about Israel. On only three points did Mr. Frank fail in his promise to answer my questions. It is interesting to know that those three points were the following: (1) the address of Elli, in the Netherlands; (2) the means of rediscovering the trail of the store employee called V.M. in the book (I know that he is probably named Van Maaren); (3) the means of rediscovering the Austrian Karl Silberbauer who had arrested the persons in hiding on 4 August 1944.

20. In regard to Elli, Mr. Frank declared to me that she was very ill and that, since she was "not very intelligent," she could not be of any help to me. As to the other two witnesses, they had had enough trouble of the kind without my going to pester them with some questions that would remind them of an unhappy past. To compensate for that, Mr. Frank recommended that I get in touch with Kraler (by his real name, Kugler), settled in Canada, and with Miep and her husband, still living in Amsterdam.

21. In regard to the Diary itself, Mr. Frank declared to me that the basis of it was authentic. The events related were true. It was Anne, and Anne alone who had written the manuscripts of that Diary. Like every literary author, Anne perhaps had some tendencies either to exaggeration or to imaginative changes, but all within ordinary and acceptable limits, without letting the truth or the facts suffer from it. Anne's manuscripts form an important whole. What Mr. Frank had presented to the publishers was not the text of those manuscripts, the purely original text, but a text that he in person had tape recorded: a "tapuscript." He had been obliged to transform the various manuscripts in this way into a single "tapuscript" for various reasons. First, the manuscripts presented some repetitions. Then, they contained some indiscretions. Then, there were passages without any interest. Finally,

there were . . . some omissions! Mr. Frank, noticing my surprise, gave me the following example (a no doubt harmless example, but are there not more serious ones that he hid from me?): Anne very much liked her uncles but in her *Diary* she had neglected to mention them among the persons that she cherished; therefore, Mr. Frank repaired that "omission" by mentioning those uncles in the "tapuscript." Mr. Frank said that he had changed some dates! He had likewise changed the names of the characters. It was Anne herself, it seems, who had no doubt thought of changing the names. She had envisaged the possibility of publication. Mr. Frank had discovered, on a piece of paper, the list of the real names with their equivalent false names. Anno is supposed to have thought of calling the Franks by the name of Robin. Mr. Frank had cut out of the manuscripts certain indications of the prices of things. More important, finding himself, at least for certain periods, in possession of two different versions of the text, it had been necessary for him to "combine" (the word is his) two texts into one single text. Summarizing all those transformations, Mr. Frank finally declared to me: "That was a difficult task. I did that task according to my conscience."

22. The manuscripts that Mr. Frank presented to me as being those of his daughter form an impressive whole. I did not have the time to look at them closely. I trusted in the description of them that was given to me and I will summarize them in the following way:

- A) the first date mentioned is that of 12 June 1942; the last is that of 1 August 1944 (three days before their arrest)
- B) the period from 12 June 1942 to 5 December of the same year (but that date does not correspond to any printed letter); we have at our disposal a small note book with a linen cover, with a red, white and brown plaid design (the "Scotch notebook")
- C) the period from 6 December 1942 to 21 December 1943; we do not possess any special notebook (but see below, the loose leaf sheets). This notebook is supposed to have been lost;
- D) the period from 2 December 1942 to 17 April 1944, then for the period from that same date of 17 April (!) to the last letter (1 August 1944); two black-bound notebooks, covered with brown paper.

23. To those three notebooks and to the missing notebook is added a collection of 338 loose leaf sheets for the period 20 June 1942 to 29 March 1944. Mr. Frank said that those sheets constitute a resumption and a reshaping, by Anne herself, of letters which

are contained, in an original form, in the above-mentioned notebooks: the "Scotch notebook," the missing notebook, and the first of the two black notebooks.

24. Up to this point the total of what Anne is supposed to have written during her twenty-five months of hiding is therefore in five volumes. To that total it is appropriate to add the collection of the Stories. These Stories are supposed to have been made up by Anne. The text is presented as a perfect copy. The copy can only involve, to begin with, a work of editing from a rough draft; Anne therefore must have done a lot a scribbling!

25. I have no competence in the matter of handwriting analysis and therefore I cannot express an opinion on that matter. I can only give here my impressions. My impressions were that the "Scotch notebook" contained some photos, pictures and drawings as well as a variety of very juvenile writing styles, the confusion and fantasy of which appeared authentic. It would be necessary to look closely at the handwriting of the texts which were used by Mr. Frank in order to form the basis of the Diary. The other notebooks and the whole of the 338 loose leaf sheets are in what I would call an adult handwriting. As regards the manuscript of the Stories, it very much surprised me. One would say that it was the work of an experienced accountant and not the work of a 14 year old child. The table of contents is presented as a list of the Stories with the date of composition, the title and the page number for each piece!

26. Mr. Frank had a high opinion of the conclusions of the two expert reports called for, about 1960, by the prosecutor in Lubeck in order to examine the case of a teacher (Lothar Stielau) who, in 1959, had expressed some doubts about the authenticity of the Diary (Case 2Js 19/59, VU 10/59). Mr. Frank had registered a complaint against that teacher. The handwriting report had been entrusted to Mrs. Minna Becker. Mrs. Annemarie Hubner had been charged with attesting whether the texts printed in Dutch and German were faithful to the texts of the manuscripts. The two expert reports, submitted as evidence in 1961, turned out to be favorable to Mr. Frank.

27. But, on the other hand, what Mr. Frank did not reveal to me—and what I had to learn after my visit, and from a German source—is that the prosecutor in Lubeck had decided to get a third expert report. Why a third expert report? And on what point, given that, according to all appearances, the whole field possible for investigation had been explored by the handwriting expert

and by Mrs. Hubner? The answer to these questions is the following: the prosecutor thought that an expert report of the kind done by Mrs. Hubner risked declaring that Lothar Stielau was right about the facts. In view of the first analyses, it was going to be impossible to declare that the Diary was "dokumentarish echt" ("documentarily genuine") (!). Perhaps they could have it declared "literarish echt" ("literarily genuine") (!). The novelist Friedrich Sieburg was going to be charged with answering that odd question.

28. Of those three expert reports, only that of Mrs. Hubner would have really been of interest to me. On 20 January 1978, a letter from Mrs. Hubner let me hope that I would obtain a copy of her expert report. A short time afterward, since Mrs. Hubner did not respond to my letters, I had a German friend telephone her. She made it known to him that "the question was very delicate, given that a trial on the question of the Diary was presently under way in Frankfurt." She added that she had gotten in touch with Mr. Frank. According to the few elements that I possess of the content of that expert's report, it is supposed to have noted a large number of facts that were interesting from the point of view of the comparison of the texts (manuscripts, "tapuscript", Dutch text, German text). Mrs. Hubner is supposed to have mentioned there some very numerous "omissions" (Auslassungen), "additions" (Zusatze), and "interpolations" (Interpolationen). She is supposed to have spoken of the text "adapted" for the necessities of publication (uberarbeitet). Furthermore, she is supposed to have gone so far as to name some persons who supposedly gave their "collaboration" (Zusammenarbeit) to Mr. Frank in his editing of the "tapuscript." Those persons are supposed to have collaborated in the drawing up of the German text, in place of contenting herself with the role of translator.

29. In spite of those facts that she herself pointed out, Mrs. Hubner is supposed to have concluded on the authenticity of the Diary (Dutch printed text and German printed text). She is therefore supposed to have expressed the following opinion: "Those facts are not important." Now that opinion can only be her personal view. There is the whole question: Who assures us that quite another judgement could not be brought forth on the facts pointed out by the expert? And besides, to begin with, has the expert shown impartiality and a really scientific spirit in naming the facts as she has named them? What she has called, for example, "interpolations" (a word with a scientific appearance and an ambiguous significance) would others not call them "retouchings," "alterations," "insertions," (words no doubt more exact, and more precise)? In the same fashion, words like

"additions" and especially "omissions" are neutral in appearance but, in reality, they hide some confused realities: an "addition" or an "omission" can be honest or dishonest; they can change nothing important in a text or they can, to the contrary, alter it profoundly. In the particular case that interests us here, those two words have a frankly benign appearance!

30. In any case it is impossible to consider those three expert opinions (Becker, Hubner and Sieburg) as conclusive, since they had not been examined by a court. In fact, for some reasons of which I am unaware, Mr. Frank was to withdraw his complaint against Lothar Stielau. If my information is correct, Stielau agreed to pay 1000 Marks of the 15,712 Marks of the cost of the proceedings begun. I suppose that Mr. Frank paid to the court of Lubeck those 1000 Marks and that he had added to that sum 14,712 Marks for his own part. I recall that Mr. Frank told me that Lothar Stielau had, moreover, agreed to present him with his written apology. Lothar Stielau had lost his job as a teacher at the same time. Mr. Frank did not speak to me about Heinrich Buddeberg, Lothar Stielau's co-defendant. Perhaps Buddeberg himself also had to turn over 1000 Marks and to present his apologies.

31. I linger here on these matters of expert opinions only because in our interview Mr. Frank had himself lingered there, while not mentioning certain important facts (for example, the existence of a third expert opinion), and while presenting to me the two expert opinions as conclusive. The matter of the manuscripts did not interest me very much either. I knew that I would not have the time to examine them closely. What interested me most of all was to know how Mr. Frank would have explained to me the "unexplainable quantity of unlikely or inconceivable facts" that I had called attention to in reading the Diary. After all, what does it matter that some manuscripts, even declared authentic by some experts, contain this type of facts, if those facts could not have existed? But Mr. Frank was to show himself to be incapable of furnishing me with the least explanation. In my opinion he was expecting to see the authenticity of the Diary questioned by the usual arguments, of the psychological, literary or historical order. He did not expect arguments of internal criticism bearing on the realities of material life: the realities which, as one knows, are stubborn. In a moment of confusion, Mr. Frank moreover declared to me: "But . . . I had never thought about those material matters!"

32. Before coming to some precise examples of that confusion, I owe it to the truth to say that on two occasions Mr. Frank gave me

good answers and those were in regard to two episodes that I have not mentioned up to now, precisely because they were to find an explanation. The first episode was incomprehensible to me because of a small omission from the French translation (I did not possess at that time the Dutch text). The second episode was incomprehensible to me because of an error that figures in all the printed texts of the Diary. Where, on the date of 8 July 1944, it is a question of the male green grocer, the manuscript gives: "la marchande de legumes" ("the [female] green grocer"). And that is fortunate, for a careful reader of the book knows very well that the green grocer in question could not have delivered to those in hiding "19 pounds of green peas" (!) on 8 July 1944 for the good reason that he had been arrested 45 days before by the Germans for one of the most serious of reasons (he had had two Jews at his home). That act had set him "on the edge of an abyss" (25 May 1944). One has a hard time understanding how a green grocer leaps from "the abyss" in order to thus deliver to some other Jews such a quantity of compromising merchandise. To tell the truth, one does not understand very much better the wife of that unfortunate man, but the fact is there, the text of the manuscript is not absurd like that of the Dutch, French, German, and English printings. The writer of the manuscript had been more careful. It remains that the error of the printed texts was perhaps not an error, but indeed a deliberate and unfortunate correction of the manuscript. We read, in fact, in the printed Dutch text: "van der groenteboer om de hoek, 19 pond" (cries Margot); and Anne answers; "Dat is aarding van hem." In other words, Margot and Anne used the masculine on two occasions; "from the (male) greengrocer on the corner . . . 19 pounds," Anne's answer: "That's nice of him." For my part, I would draw two other conclusions from that episode: (1) Internal criticism bearing on the coherence of a text allows us to detect some anomalies which are revealed to be true anomalies; (2) A reader of the Diary, having come to that episode of 8 July 1944, would be right to declare absurd a book in which the hero ("the nice green grocer on the corner") leaps back out of the depths of the abyss as one would rise up from the dead.

33. That greengrocer, Mr. Frank told me, was named Van der Hoeven. Deported for having harbored Jews at his home, he came back from deportation. At the time of the commemorative ceremonies, he had come back to appear at the side of Mr. Frank. I asked Mr. Frank if, after the war, some people from the neighborhood had declared to him: "We suspected the presence of people in hiding at 263 Prinsengracht." Mr. Frank clearly answered me that no one had suspected their presence, including the men of the store, including Lewin, also including Van der Hoeven. The latter supposedly helped them without knowing it!

34. In spite of my repeated questions on this point, Mr. Frank was not able to tell me what his neighbors at No. 261 sold or made. He did not remember that there had been in his own house, at No. 263, a housekeeper described in the book as a possible "enemy." He ended by answering me that she was "very, very old" and that she only came very rarely, perhaps once a week. I said to him that she must have been astonished to suddenly see the installation of the "swinging cupboard" on the landing of the second floor. He answered no, given that the housekeeper never came there. That answer was to provoke for the first time a kind of dispute between Mr. Frank and his wife, who was present at our interview. Beforehand, in fact, I had taken the precaution of having Mr. Frank make it clear to me that those in hiding had never done any housekeeping outside of cleaning a part of the annex. The logical conclusion of Mr. Frank's two statements therefore became: "For twenty-five months, no one had done any cleaning of the landing on the second floor." In the face of that improbability, Mrs. Frank suddenly broke in to say to her husband: "Nonsense! No cleaning on that landing! In a factory! But there would have been dust this high!" What Mrs. Frank could have added is that the landing was supposed to have served as a passageway for the people in hiding in their comings and goings between the annex and the front house. The trail of their goings and comings would have been obvious in the midst of so much accumulated dust, even without taking into account the dust from the coal brought from downstairs. In fact, Mr. Frank could not have told the truth when he spoke in this way about a kind of phantom housekeeper for a house so vast and so dirty.

35. On several occasions, at the beginning of our interview, Mr. Frank thus attempted to supply some explanations which, finally, did not explain anything at all and which led him, to the contrary, into some impasses. I must say here that the presence of his wife was to prove to be especially useful. Mrs. Frank, who was very well acquainted with the Diary, obviously believed up to then in the authenticity of the Diary as well as in the sincerity of her husband. Her surprise was only more striking in the face of the terrible quality of Mr. Frank's answers to my questions. For myself, I retain a painful memory of what I would call certain "realizations" by Mrs. Frank. I do not at all wish to say that Mrs. Frank today takes her husband for a liar. But I claim that Mrs. Frank was strongly conscious, at the time of our interview, of the anomalies and of the serious absurdities of the whole story of Anne Frank. Hearing the "explanations" of her husband, she came to use toward him some phrases of the following kind:

"Nonsense!"

"What you are saying is unbelievable!"

"A vacuum cleaner! That is unbelievable! I had never noticed it!"

"but you were really foolhardy!"

"That was really foolhardy!"

The most interesting remark that Mrs. Frank made was the following: "I am sure that the people (of the neighborhood) knew that you were there." For my part, I would say rather: "I am sure that the people of the neighborhood would have seen, heard and smelled the presence of the persons in hiding, if there were indeed some persons hidden in that house for twenty-five months."

36. I would take one other example of Mr. Frank's explanations. According to him, the people who worked in the front house could not see the main part of the annex because of the "masking paper on the window panes." This statement, which is found in the brochure of the "museum," was repeated to me by Mr. Frank in the presence of his wife. Without pausing at that statement, I went on to another subject: that of the consumption of electricity. I made the remark that the consumption of electricity in the house must have been considerable. Since Mr. Frank was surprised by my remark, I stated it precisely: "That consumption must have been considerable since the electric light was on all day in the office on the courtyard and in the store on the courtyard in the front house." Mr. Frank then said to me: "How is that? The electric light is not necessary in broad daylight!" I indicated to him how those rooms could not receive daylight, knowing that the windows had some "masking paper" on them. Mr. Frank then answered me that those rooms were not so very dark: a disconcerting answer which found itself in contradiction with the statement of the booklet written by Mr. Frank: "Spices must be kept in the dark. . ." (page 27 of the 36 page booklet mentioned above in paragraph 15). Mr. Frank then dared to add that, all the same, what one saw through those windows on the courtyard was only a wall. He specified, contrary to all evidence, that one did not see that it was the wall of a house! That detail contradicted the following passage of the same prospectus; "therefore, although you saw windows, you could not see through them, and everyone took it for granted that they overlooked the garden" (*ibidem*). I asked if those masked windows were nevertheless sometimes open, if only for airing out the office where they received visitors, if only in the summer, on swelteringly hot days. Mrs. Frank agreed with me on that and remarked that those windows must all the same have been open sometimes. *Silence* from Mr. Frank.

37. The list of the noises left Mr. Frank, and especially Mrs.

Frank, perplexed. As regards the vacuum cleaner, Mr. Frank was startled and declared to me: "But there could not have been a vacuum cleaner there." Then, in the face of my assurance that there had been one, he began to stammer. He told me that, if indeed there had been a vacuum cleaner, they must have run it in the evening, when the employees (the "enemies") had left the front house, after work. I objected that the noise of a vacuum cleaner of that era would have been so much better heard by the neighbors (the walls were "thin," 25 March 1943) as it would have occurred in empty rooms or close to empty rooms. I revealed to him that, in any case, Mrs. Van Daan, for her part, was supposed to have used that vacuum cleaner every day, regularly, at about 12:30 pm (the window probably being open). Silence from Mr. Frank, while Mrs. Frank was visibly moved. The same silence for the alarm clock, with the sometimes untimely alarm (4 August 1943). The same silence for the removal of the ashes, especially on swelteringly hot days. The same silence about the borrowing, by the persons in hiding, from the supply of coal (a rare commodity) common to the whole house. Even silence about the question of the bicycles used after their confiscation and after the prohibition of their use by Jews.

38. A number of questions therefore remained without answers or even at first gave rise to some explanations by which Mr. Frank worsened his case. Then Mr. Frank had, as it were, a windfall: a magic formula. That formula was the following: "Mr. Faurisson, you are theoretically and scientifically right. I agree with you 100 percent. . . . What you pointed out to me was, in fact, impossible. But, in practice, it was nevertheless in that way that things happened." I pointed out to Mr. Frank that his statement troubled me. I told him that it was almost as if he agreed with me that a door could not be at the same time open and closed and as if, in spite of that, he stated that he had seen such a door. I pointed out to him, in another connection, that the words "scientifically" and "theoretically" and "in practice" were unnecessary and introduced a distinction devoid of meaning since, in any case, "theoretically," "scientifically" or "practically," a door at the same time open and closed quite simply cannot exist. I added that I would prefer to each particular question an appropriate response or, if need be, no answer at all.

39. Near the beginning of our interview, Mr. Frank had made, in the friendliest way in the world, a major concession, a concession announced by me above, in paragraph 16. As I began to make him understand that I found absurd the explanations that he had furnished in his propectuses, both regarding the ignorance of the Germans about the architecture typical of Dutch houses

and about the presence of smoke constantly above the roof of the annex (the "little factory"), he wanted to admit right away, without any insistence on my part, that it was a question there of pure inventions on his part. Without using, it is true, the word "inventions," he declared to me, in substance: "You are quite right. In the explanations that are given to visitors, it is necessary to simplify. That is not so serious. It is necessary to make that agreeable to visitors. This is not the scientific way of doing things. One is not always able to be scientific."

40. That confidential remark enlightens us on what I believe to be a character trait of Mr. Frank: Mr. Frank has the sense of what pleases the public and he seeks to adapt himself to it, free to take liberties with the truth. Mr. Frank is not a man to give himself a headache. He knows that the general public is satisfied with little. The general public seeks a sort of comfort, a sort of dream, a sort of easy world where it will be brought exactly the kind of emotion that confirms it in its habits of feeling, seeing and reasoning. That smoke above the roof could disturb the general public? What does it matter? Let's make up an explanation not necessarily probable, but simple and, if it is necessary, simple and crude. Perfection is reached if that fabrication confirms some accepted ideas or habitual feelings: for example, it is very probable that for those who love Anne Frank and who come to visit her house, the Germans are brutes and beasts; well, they will find a confirmation of that in Mr. Frank's explanations: the Germans went so far as to be unaware of the architecture typical of the houses in Amsterdam (sic!). In a general way, Mr. Frank appeared to me, on more than one occasion, as a man devoid of finesse (but not of cunning) for whom a literary work is, in relation to reality, a form of lying contrivance, a domain where one takes liberties with the truth, a thing which "is not so serious" and which allows for writing almost anything.

41. I asked Mr. Frank what explanations he could furnish me on the two points where he agreed that he had said nothing serious to the visitors. He could not answer me. I questioned him about the layout of the premises. I had noted some anomalies in the plan of the house, such as it is reproduced—by Mr. Frank—in all the editions of the Diary. Those anomalies had been confirmed for me by my visit to the museum (taking account of the changes made in the premises in order to make it into a museum). It was then that once again Mr. Frank went on to be led, in the face of the physical evidence, to make some new and important concessions to me, especially, as is going to be seen in regard to the "swinging cupboard." He began by admitting that the diagram of the plan ought not to have concealed from the reader that the small courtyard which separates the front house from the annex

was common to No. 263 (the Frank house) and to No. 265 (the house of their neighbors and "enemies"). It is also bizarre that, in the Diary, there was not the slightest allusion to the fact which, for the persons in hiding, was of extreme importance. Mr. Frank then acknowledged that the diagram of the plan let people believe that on the third floor the flat roof was not accessible; but that roof was accessible by a door from the annex and it could very well have offered to the police or to the "enemies" an easy way of access into the very heart of the premises inhabited by the persons in hiding. Finally and especially, Mr. Frank conceded to me that the "swinging cupboard" . . . did not make any sense. He recognized that this ruse could not, in any case, have prevented a search of the annex, seeing that that annex was accessible in other ways, and especially in the most natural way—the entrance door leading out to the garden. That evidence, it is true, does not appear as one at the schema, since the schema does not contain any drawing of the whole ground floor. As to the museum visitors, they do not have access to this same ground floor. That famous "swinging cupboard" thus became a particularly strange invention of "the persons in hiding." One must, in fact, think here that the making of that "swinging cupboard" was a dangerous job. The destruction of the stair steps, the assembling of that false cupboard, the change of a passageway into an apparent dead end, all that could only give warning to the "enemies," All that had of course been suggested by Kraler and carried out by Vossen (21 August 1942)!

42. The more that my interview went on, the more the embarrassment of Mr. Frank became visible. But his amiability did not fail; quite the contrary. At the end, Mr. Frank went on to use a sentimental argument, apparently clever and in a good natured tone. That argument was the following: "Yes, I agree with you, we were a little imprudent. Certain things were a little dangerous, it is necessary to recognize that. Besides, it is perhaps the reason why we were finally arrested. But do not believe, Mr. Faurisson, that the people were suspicious at that point." That curious argumentation went on to suggest to Mr. Frank sentences like: "The people were decent!" or even: "The Dutch were good!" or even, on two occasions: "The Police were good!"

43. Those sentences had only one inconvenience: they rendered absurd all of the "precautions" pointed out in the book. To a certain extent, they even robbed the book of its whole meaning. That book recounted, as a matter of fact, the tragic adventure of eight persons hunted down, forced to hide, to bury themselves alive for twenty-five months in the midst of a ferociously hostile world. In those "days in the tomb" only some select few people knew of their existence and brought them help. One could say

that in resorting to his last arguments, Mr. Frank tried with one hand to fill in the cracks in a work which, with the other hand, he was dismantling.

44. On the evening of our first day of interviews, Mr. Frank handed to me his own copy, in French, of the book by Ernst Schnabel: *Spur eines Kindes* (French title: *Sur les traces d'Anne Frank*; English title: *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*). He told me that I would perhaps find in that book some answers to certain of my questions. The pages of that copy were not cut. It should be mentioned that Mr. Frank speaks and understands French, but he reads it with a little difficulty. (I should make it clear here that all our interviews took place in English, a language that Mr. Frank has mastered perfectly.) I had not yet read that book, since the strict observance of the methods proper to pure internal criticism obliges one to read nothing about a work so long as one has not yet personally gotten a clear idea of that work. During the night that preceded our second interview, I glanced through the book. Among a dozen points that acted to confirm to me that the *Diary* was a fable (in spite of the fact that Schnabel made many efforts to persuade us of the contrary), I call attention to an amazing passage on page 151 of the French text. That passage concerned Mr. Vossen, the man who, it seemed, had devoted himself, as carpenter to making the "swinging cupboard" intended to conceal the persons in hiding (*Diary*, 21 August 1942). "Good old Vossen" was supposed to work at 263 Prinsengracht. He kept the persons in hiding up-to-date on everything that took place in the store. But illness had forced him to retire to his home, where his daughter Elli joined him after her own work hours. On 15 June 1943, Anne spoke about him as a precious friend. But, if one believes a remark of Elli reported by Schnabel, good old Vossen . . . was unaware of the existence of the Franks at 263 Prinsengracht! Elli recounts, in fact, that on 4 August 1944, when she returned to her residence, she informed her father of the arrest of the Franks. The French text of Schnabel says: "I was seated at the side of the bed and I had told him everything. My father very much liked Mr. Frank, whom he had known for a long time. He was not aware that the Franks had not left for Switzerland, as was claimed, but had hidden themselves on the Prinsengracht." But what is incomprehensible is that Vossen could have believed in that rumor. For nearly a year he had seen the Franks at Prinsengracht, he had spoken with them, he had helped them and he had become their friend. Then, when because of his bad health he had left his job on the Prinsengracht, his daughter Elli was able to keep him up to date on the doings of his friends, the Franks.

45. Mr. Frank was not able to explain to me that passage from Schnabel's book. Rushing to the German and the English texts of the same work, he made a surprising discovery: the whole passage where Elli spoke with her father did indeed appear in those texts, but, lacking the sentence beginning with: "He was not aware . . ." and ending with: "the Prinsengracht." In the French text, Elli continued: "Il ne dit rien. Il restait couche en silence." for comparison, here is the German text:

Ich setze mich zu ihm ans Bett und habe ihm alles gesagt. Er hing sehr an Herrn Frank, denn er kannte ihn lange (passage missing). Gesagt hat er nichts. Er hat nur dagelegen. (Anne Frank / Ein Bericht von Ernst Schnabel, Spur eines Kindes, Fischer Bucherei, 1958, 168 pages, p. 115.)

And here is the English text:

I sat down beside his bed and told him everything. He was deeply attached to Mr. Frank, who he had known a long time (passage missing). He said nothing. (Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage, Ernst Schnabel, Translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston, Harbrace Paperback Library, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1958, 181 pages, p. 132.)

46. After returning to France, it was easy for me to clear up this mystery: from many other points in the French text it became evident that there had existed two original German versions. The first version of Schnabel must have been sent in "tapuscript" to the French publishing house of Albin Michel so that from it there could be prepared a translation into French, without losing time. Thereupon Schnabel or, very probably, Mr. Frank, had gone on to do a revision of its text. He had then left out the problematical sentence about Vossen. Then Fischer published that corrected version. But in France they had done the job in double quick time and the book had already left the presses. It was too late to correct it. I note moreover a bibliographical curiosity: my copy of *Sur les traces d'Anne Frank* (translated from the German by Marthe Metzger Editions Albin Michel, 1958, 205 pages) bears a reference to "18th thousand" and its date for the completion of printing was in February 1958. But the first thousand of the original German edition was in March 1958. The translation therefore did indeed appear before the original.

47. It remains, of course, to know why Ernst Schnabel or Mr. Frank had believed it proper to proceed with that amazing correction. The fact remains that Mr. Frank showed his confusion once more in the face of this further anomaly. We took leave of each other in the most painful of atmospheres, where each token of friendliness that Mr. Frank showed me embarrassed me a little more. Shortly after my return to France, I wrote to Mr. Frank to thank him for his hospitality and to ask him Elli's address. He

answered me pleasantly while asking me to send him the French copy of Schnabel's book, and without speaking to me about Elli I sent his copy back to him while again asking him for the address. No answer this time. I telephoned him at Birsfelden. He responded to me that he would not give me that address, and especially now that I had sent to Kraler (Kugler) an "idiotic" letter. I will come back to that letter.

Chapter Four

48. *Bibliographical examination: some curious silences and revelations.*

49. The previously mentioned book by Schnabel (*Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*) has some curious omissions, while the long article, unsigned, that *Der Spiegel* (1 April 1959, pp.51-55) devoted to the *Diary*, in the wake of the Stielau case, brings us some curious revelations. The title of that article is eloquent: "Anne Frank. Was Schrieb das Kind?" ("Anne Frank. What did the Child Write?")

50. Ernst Schnabel openly defended Anne Frank and Otto Frank. His book is relatively rich on all that precedes and on all that follows the twenty-five months of their life at Prinsengracht. On the other hand, it is very poor concerning those twenty-five months. One would say that the direct witnesses (Miep, Elli, Kraler, Koophuis, Henk) have nothing to say on that very important period. Why do they remain silent in that way? Why have they said only some commonplace things like: "When we had our plate of soup upstairs with them at noon, . . ." (page 114)* or; "We always had lunch together. . . ." (page 117)? Not one concrete detail, not one description, not one anecdote is there that by its precision would give the impression that the persons in hiding and their faithful friends regularly ate together this way at noon. Everything appears in a kind of fog. But those witnesses were questioned only thirteen years, at the most, after the arrest of the Franks, and certain of them like Elli, Miep and Henk, were still young. I am not talking about numerous other persons whom Schnabel wrongly calls "witnesses" but who, in fact, had never known or even met the Franks. This is the case, for example, with the famous "green grocer." The "Gemusemann," "He did not know the Franks at all" (page 82). In a general way, the impression that I derived from reading Schnabel's book is the following: this Anne Frank had really existed; she had been a

*Translator's note:

This and all subsequent page references to the Schnabel book refer to the English translation published by Harbrace Paperback Library, New York, 1958.

little girl without great character, without strong personality, without scholarly precociousness (to the contrary even), and no one suspected her of having an aptitude for writing; that unfortunate child knew the horrors of war; she had been arrested by the Germans; she had been interned, then deported; she passed through the camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau; she had been separated from her father; her mother died in the hospital at Birkenau on 6 January 1945; in approximately October of 1944 she and her sister were transferred to the camp at Bergen-Belsen; Margot died of typhus; then, in her turn, Anne, alone in the world, was also to die of typhus in March of 1945. These are some points about which the witnesses did not hesitate to talk. But with all of them one senses mistrust in the presence of the legendary Anne, who was capable of taking up the pen as we have been told, capable of keeping that *Diary* and writing those stories, and writing "the beginning of a novel," etc. Schnabel himself writes a very revealing sentence when he declares: "My witnesses had a good deal to say about Anne as a person; they took account of the legend only with great reticence, or by tacitly ignoring it. Although they did not take issue with it by so much as a word, I had the impression that they were checking themselves. All of them read Anne's diary; they did not mention it." (pages 4-5) That last sentence is important "*All of them had read Anne's diary; they did not mention it.*" Even Kraler, who sent a long letter to Schnabel from Toronto, did not make mention either of the *Diary* or of Anne's other writings (page 87). Kraler is the only direct witness to tell an anecdote or two about Anne; but, in a very curious way, he places these anecdotes in the period of time when the Franks still lived in their apartment on Merwedeplein, before their "disappearance" ("before they went into hiding," p.87). It is only in the corrected edition that the second anecdote is placed at Prinsengracht, even "when they were in the secret annex" (page 88). The witnesses did not wish that their names be published. The two most important witnesses (the "probable betrayer" and the Austrian policeman) were neither questioned nor even sought out. Schnabel attempts on several occasions to explain that curious failure (pages 8, 139 and all of the end of chapter ten). He goes so far as to present a sort of defense of the arresting officer! One person nevertheless does mention the *Diary*, but that is to draw attention to a point in it which seems bizarre to her concerning the Montessori school of which she was the director (page 40). Schnabel himself treats the *Diary* strangely. How to explain, indeed, the cutting that he does when he cites a passage like that of his page 123? Quoting a long passage from the letter of 11 April 1944 in which Anne tells about the police raid in the wake of the burglary, he leaves out the sentence in which Anne gives the main reason for her distress; that reason

was that the police, it appeared, went so far as to give the "swinging cupboard" some loud blows. ("This, and when the police rattled the cupboard door, were my worst moments.") Wouldn't Schnabel have thought, like any sensible man, that that passage is absurd? In any case, he tells us that he visited 263 Prinsengracht before its transformation into a museum. He did not see any "swinging cupboard" there. He writes: "The cupboard that was built against the door to disguise it has been pulled down. Nothing is left but the twisted hinges hanging beside the door." (page 74) He did not find any trace of a special camouflage, but only, in Anne's room, a yellowed piece of curtain "A tattered, yellowed remnant of curtain still hangs at the window." (page 75). Mr. Frank, it seems, marked in pencil on the wall paper, near one door, the successive heights of his daughters. Today, at the museum, the visitors can see an impeccable square of wall paper, placed under glass, where they notice the perfectly preserved pencil marks which appear to have been drawn the same day. They tell us that these pencil marks indicated the heights of Mr. Frank's children. When I saw Mr. Frank at Birsfelden, I asked him if it was not a question there of a "reconstruction." He assured me all that was authentic. But this is difficult to believe. Schnabel himself had simply seen, as a mark, an "A 42" which he interpreted thus: "Anne 1942." What is strange is that the "authentic" paper in the museum does not bear anything like that Schnabel said that he had seen, only that mark and that the others had been destroyed or torn off ("the other marks have been stripped off . . ." [ibidem].) Might Mr. Frank have made himself guilty here of a trick ("ein Trick"), like that which he had suggested to Henk and to Miep for the photocopy of their passport?

A very interesting point about Anne's story concerns the manuscripts. I regret to say that I find very unlikely the account of the discovery of those many scripts, then their passing on to Mr. Frank by his secretary Miep. The police supposedly scattered the floor with all sorts of papers. Among those papers, Miep and Elli supposedly gathered up a "Scotch notebook" ("ein rot-kariertes Buch"; a red plaid book) and many other writings in which they are supposed to have recognized Anne's writing. They supposedly did not read anything. They are supposed to have put all these papers aside in the large office. Then, those papers supposedly were handed over to Mr. Frank at the time of his return from Poland (pages 179-181.) That account does not agree at all with the account of the arrest. The arrest was made slowly, methodically, correctly, exactly like the search. The testimonies are unanimous on that point (see chapter nine). After the arrest, the police came back to the premises on several occasions; they

especially interrogated Miep. The police wished to know if the Franks were in contact with other persons in hiding. The Diary, such as we know it, would have revealed, at first glace, a great deal of information valuable to the police, and would have been terribly compromising for Miep, Elli, and for all the friends of the persons in hiding. The police could have disregarded the "Scotch notebook" if, in its original condition, it consisted, as I think, only of some drawings, some photographs or notes of a harmless nature. But it would appear unlikely that they would have left there several notebooks and several hundreds of scattered pages, on which the handwriting was, at least in appearance, that of an adult. On the part of Elli and Miep, it would have been madness to gather together and to keep, especially in the office, such a mass of compromising documents. It would appear that they knew that Anne kept a diary. In a diary one is supposed to tell what happens from day to day. Consequently, Anne risked mentioning Miep and Elli in them.

51. In regard to the book by Schnabel, Mr. Frank made a surprising revelation to me. He told me that that book, although translated into several languages, had not been translated into Dutch! The reason for the exception was that the principal witnesses living in the Netherlands said that, because of modesty as well as because of a concern for their peace and quiet, they wished that people not talk about them. In reality, Mr. Frank was mistaken or else he was deceiving me. An investigation conducted in Amsterdam at first led me to believe that Schnabel's book had not been translated into Dutch. Even the Contact publishing house replied or had several libraries or several private individuals reply that that book did not exist. I discovered then that, in a showcase at the "Anne Frank House" museum, the book by Schnabel was shown as having been translated into Dutch and published in 1970 (twelve years after its publication in Germany, in France and in the United States!) under the title of: *Haar laatste Levensmaanden (Her Last Months)*. The book unfortunately was not to be found. The same responses from the libraries and from the Contact publishing house. As a result of my insistence, Contact finally replied to me that there remained with them only one archive copy. With some difficulty I got permission to consult it, and then to get a photocopy of pages 263 to 304. For, in reality, the work in question contained only an extract from Schnabel's book, reduced to 35 pages, and placed as an appendix to the text of the Diary. The comparative study of *Spur eines Kindes* and of its "translation" into Dutch is of the greatest interest. Of the book by Schnabel, the Dutch can only read the five last chapters (out of thirteen chapters in all). Moreover, three of those five chapters have undergone cuts of all sorts. Certain of those cuts are marked by ellipses. Others are not

marked at all. The chapters thus cut up are Chapters Nine, Ten and Thirteen—that is to say those which concern, on the one hand, the arrest and its direct results (in the Netherlands) and, on the other hand, the history of the manuscripts. When it is no longer a question of those subjects, when it is a question of the camps (which is the case in Chapters Eleven and Thirteen), the original text by Schnabel is respected. Examined closely, those cuts seem to have been introduced to remove the somewhat precise details which appear in the testimonies of Koophuis, Miep, Henk and Elli. For example, it lacks, without anything to indicate to us the existence of a cut, the essential passage where Elli tells how she told her father about the arrest of the Franks (the 13 lines of page 115 of Spur are completely absent from page 272 of *Haar Laatste Levensmaanden*). It is odd that the only nation for whom they have thus reserved a censored version of the life of Anne Frank is precisely that one where the adventure of Anne Frank took place. Can you imagine some revelations about Joan of Arc that would be made to all sorts of foreign nations, but would be forbidden in some way to the French people? Such a way of acting is understandable only when the editors fear that, in the country of origin, the "revelations" would have rather quickly appeared suspect. The explanation given by Mr. Frank hardly holds. Since Koophuis, Miep, Henk and Elli find themselves named anyhow (moreover by some complete or partial pseudonyms), and since Schnabel has them make such and such remarks, one does not see how the cuts introduced into those remarks can soothe the sensitive modesty of their authors or assure them more tranquility in their life in Amsterdam. I would believe rather that the preparation of the Dutch translation gave rise to some very long and arduous bargaining among all the interested parties or, at least, between Mr. Frank, but, as the years passed, they become more cautious and more sparing with details than in their original "testimonies."

52. The above-mentioned article from *Der Spiegel* brings us, as I have said, some curious revelations. As a matter of principle I distrust journalists. They work too quickly. Here it is obvious that the journalist carried out a thorough investigation. The issue was too burning and too sensitive to be treated lightly. The conclusion of the long article could indeed be the following: While suspecting the Diary of being a forgery, Lothar Stielau perhaps proved nothing, but all the same he "ran into a really tricky problem—the problem of the genesis of the publishing of the book" ("auf ein tatsachlich heikles Problem gestossen—das Problem der Entstehung der Buchausgabe," page 51). And it is revealed that we are very far from the text of the original manuscripts when we read in Dutch, in German and in whatever language, the book entitled

the Diary of Anne Frank. Supposing for a moment that the manuscripts are authentic, it is necessary to be aware that as a matter of fact what we read under that title, for example in Dutch (that is to say in the supposedly original language), is only the result of a whole series of operations of reorganizing and rewriting, participated in especially by Mr. Frank and some close friends, among whom were (for the Dutch text) Mr. And Mrs. Cauvern and (for the German text) Anneliese Schutz, whose pupil Anne had been.

53. Between the original form of the book (the manuscripts) and its printed form (the Dutch edition from Contact in 1947), the text has known at least five forms in succession. First form: between the end of May 1945 and October 1945, Mr. Frank had drawn up a sort of copy ("Abschrift") from the manuscripts, in part alone, in part with the help of his secretary Isa Cauvern (that woman was the wife of Albert Cauvern, a friend of Mr. Frank; before the war, the Cauverns had welcomed the Frank children to their home for vacations). Second form: from October 1945 to January 1946, Mr. Frank and Isa Cauvern worked together on a new version of the copy, a typed version ("Neufassung der Abschrift"/"Maschinengeschriebene Zweitfassung"). Third form: at an unspecified date (the end of the winter of 1945-1946), that second version (typed) was submitted to Albert Cauvern; he, insofar as he was a radio man—was an announcer with the "De Vara" radio network in Hilversum—he knew about rewriting manuscripts. According to his own words, he began by "tolerably changing" that version; he drew up his own text as a "man of experience" ("Albert Cauvern stellt heute nicht in Abrede, dass er jene maschinengeschriebene Zweitfassung mit kundiger Hand redigiert hat: 'Am Anfang habe ich ziemlich viel geändert,' page 52.) A detail that is surprising for a diary: he does not fear to regroup under a single date some letters written on different dates; on a second occasion he limited himself to correcting the punctuation as well as mistakes of phrasing and grammar; all those changes and corrections were carried out on the typed text; Albert Cauvern never saw the original manuscripts. Fourth form: from the changes and corrections, Mr. Frank drew up what one can call the third typed text in the spring of 1946; he submitted the result to "three prominent experts" ("drei prominente Gutachter," page 53), while letting them believe that it was a question of the complete reproduction of a manuscript, with the very understandable exception of some personal points of order; then, those three persons having apparently given their guarantee to the text, Mr. Frank went on to offer it to several publishing houses in Amsterdam which refused it; turning then, in all probability, to one of those three persons, Mrs. Anna Romein-

Verschoor. He got the latter's husband, Mr. Jan Romein, Professor of History of the Netherlands at the University of Amsterdam to write in the daily newspaper *Het Parool* a famous article which began with these words: "There has by chance fallen into my hands a diary (etc.)"; since the article was very laudatory, a modest Amsterdam publishing house (Contact) asked to publish that diary. Fifth form: with the agreement once concluded or in the process of being concluded, Mr. Frank went to find several "spiritual counselors" ("mehrere geistlich Ratgeber"), one of whom was Pastor Buskes; he granted them full authority to censor the text ("raumte ihnen freiwillig Zensoren-Befugnisse ein," pages 53-54). And that censorship was carried out.

54. But the oddities do not end there. The German text of the Diary forms the subject of interesting remarks on the part of the journalist from *Der Spiegel*. He writes: "One curiosity of the 'Anne Frank literature' is the translation work of Anneliese Schutz, of which Schnabel said: 'I would wish that all translations were so faithful,' but whose text very often diverges from the Dutch original" (page 54). In fact, as I will show below (paragraphs 72-103), the journalist is quite lenient in his criticism when he says that the German text diverges very often from what he calls the original (that is to say, without doubt, from the original printed by the Dutch). The printed German text does not have the right to be called a translation from the printed Dutch: it constitutes, properly speaking, another book by itself. But let us pass over this point. We will return to it.

Anneliese Schutz, a great friend of the Franks, like them a Jewish German refugee in the Netherlands, and Anne's teacher, therefore prepared a text, in German, of the diary of her former pupil. She settled down to that work for Anne's grandmother! The latter, very aged, did not in fact read Dutch. She therefore needed a translation into German, the Franks' mother tongue. Anneliese Schutz composed her "translation" "in the perspective of the grandmother" ("aus der Grossmutter-Perspektive," page 55). She took some amazing liberties. Where, according to her recollections, Anne had expressed herself better, she made her express herself better! The grandmother had the right to that! ". . . die Grossmutter habe ein Recht darauf, mehr zu erfahren—vor allem dort, 'wo Anne nach meiner Erinnerung etwas besseres gesagt hatte'" (*ibidem*). Let it be said in passing that Anneliese Schutz is never mentioned by Anno Frank in the Diary. Are we to understand that she had lived close to Anne or that she had met her during the twenty-five months when she hid at the Prinsengracht? To the "perspective of the grandmother," which dictated certain "obligations," there was added what one can call the

"commercial perspective" which dictated other obligations. As a matter of fact, when the time came to publish the Diary in Germany, Anneliese Schutz inserted some new alterations. Let us take an example that she herself mentions. The manuscript, they say, included the following sentence: " . . . no greater hostility in the world than between the Germans and the Jews" (*ibidem*). Anneliese Schutz declared to the journalist of *Der Spiegel*: "I always told myself that a book, destined to be sold in Germany, cannot contain an expression insulting to the Germans" (*ibidem*). For my part, I would say that that argumentation at one and the same time of the commercial, sentimental and political order is understandable, if need be coming from a woman of Berlin Jewish origin, who had been a militant before the war in a suffragette movement and who had had to leave her own country for political reasons, but otherwise that argumentation is all the less acceptable since the "insulting" remarks have been and continue to be spread in the millions of copies of the Diary sold throughout the world in languages other than German. And I am not speaking here from the simple point of view of respect for the truth.

55. One does not have the impression that Mr. Frank's "collaborators" in the publishing of the Diary were especially pleased with their work, nor that they were especially delighted about the fuss made about that Diary. Let us take those collaborators one by one: About Isa Cauvern, we can say nothing, except that she committed suicide by throwing herself out of her window in June of 1946. Mr. Frank had just signed or was going to sign his contract for publication with Contact. The motive for that suicide is not known to us and it is at present impossible to establish a tie of some kind between that suicide and the affair of the Diary. As regards the person who wrote the preface, Anna Romein-Verschoor, she was to declare to *Der Spiegel* in 1959: "I was not at all suspicious enough" ("Ich bin wohl nicht misstrauisch genug gewesen"). Her husband had been no more suspicious. Albert Cauvern had not been able to obtain from Mr. Frank the return of the typed text on which he had worked. He had asked for that text "in memory of my wife" who died in 1946. Mr. Frank had not sent the text in question. Kurt Baschwitz, a friend of Mr. Frank, was one of the "three eminent persons" (the two others being Mr. and Mrs. Romein). In 1959, he was to plead for an "agreement" between Mr. Frank and Lothar Stielau. He recommended, on the other hand, a complete publication of the text of the manuscripts to resolve the problem. To know what the text was in reality, that solution would have been, as a matter of fact, that most suitable. Anneliese Schutz, for her part, was to show her disapproval both of the "Anne Frank Myth" and of the attitude of Mr. Frank with regard to Lothar Stielau. She was in favor of a policy of silence:

the least fuss possible about Anne Frank and her Diary. She went so far as to disapprove of Mr. Frank and Ernst Schnabel for Spur eines Kindes: what need was there for that book? As regards to Stielau, if he had made the remark which Mr. Frank criticized him for, the latter had only to act as if he did not hear it. That "sharp" ("scharf") (*ibidem*) reaction by Anneliese Schutz was all the more peculiar since this woman presented herself as the "translator" of the Diary into German and since Ernst Schnabel had—but perhaps she did not know it—pushed kindness so far as to have declared with regard to that improbable "translation": "Ich wünschte, alle Übersetzungen waren so getreu" (page 54) (I would wish that all translations were so faithful").

Chapter Five

56. Return to Amsterdam for a new investigation: the hearing of the witnesses turned out to be unfavorable to Mr. Frank. The probable truth.

57. The internal criticism of the Diary had led me to think that the Diary was a "cock and bull story," a novel, a lie. The subsequent investigations had only served to reinforce that judgement. But, if I indeed saw where the lie was, I did not see as well where the truth was. I saw indeed that the Frank family could not have lived for twenty-five months at 263 Prinsengracht in the way they claimed. But how had they lived in reality? Where? With whom? And finally, was it indeed at 263 Prinsengracht that they had been arrested?

58. Without any illusions about the answer that he would give me, I posed those questions to Kraler (by his real name, Kugler) in a letter that I sent to him in Canada. I asked him likewise if Anne appeared to him to have been the author of the Diary and how he could explain to me why Vossen (by his real name, Voskuyl) had believed that the Franks were somewhere other than at 263 Prinsengracht, and even in Switzerland, to be precise. His response was discourteous. He sent my letter and his response to Mr. Frank. It is that letter which Mr. Frank called "idiotic" during a telephone conversation. It is, I suppose, that response which, one year later, earned Kraler a prize of \$10,000 from an institution for having "protected Anne Frank and her family during the war, in Amsterdam" (see the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 6 June 1978, page 13). Disregarding its courtesy, the response from Kraler was not lacking in interest for me. Kraler responded to me that Vossen's suggestion concerning the presence of the

Franks in Switzerland "was made to protect the family which was in hiding" (letter of 14 April 1977). He added, in regard to Anne, "there have been other greatly gifted young people, even younger than Anne." I found that the first point of this answer was precise but incomprehensible if one recalls that Vossen had, according to his own daughter, the personal feeling that the Franks were in Switzerland. As to the second point of the answer, its stereotyped character was striking coming from a man whose only difficulty ought to have been in choosing among several precise and convincing answers. Kraler, as a matter of fact, was supposed to have lived for 25 months in almost daily contact with that Anne Frank whose "diary" was an open secret, it seems, for those who knew her.

59. Listening to Elli on 30 November 1977, then to Miep and Henk on 2 December 1977, I was struck right away with the impression that these three persons had not at all lived for 25 months in contact with the Franks and with the other persons in hiding in the manner in which this is presented to us in the Diary. On the other hand, I became convinced that Miep and Elli had at least been present at 263 Prinsengracht on 4 August 1944, at the time of the police raid. It is difficult for me to account otherwise for the insistence with which Elli and Miep evaded my questions on the 25 months, while coming back over and over again to the day of 4 August 1944. Elli, of whom I had much difficulty in finding any trace, expected neither my visit, nor the type of detailed questions I was going to put to her. Miep and Henk were expecting my visit and knew that I had seen Mr. Frank. My questions were brief, limited in number, and, with certain exceptions, I did not point out to my witnesses either their mutual contradictions or their contradictions with the Diary. Elli, full of good will, seemed to me to have a good memory of the war years and of the minor events of her daily life in those days (she was 23 years old in 1944). But, in regard to those twenty-five months, her answers to my questions were for the most part: "I do not know . . . I do not recall . . . I cannot explain to you . . ." "The coal storage place? It was in the Van Daans' room." "The ashes? I suppose that the men took them down." "The night watchman Slagter? I have never heard him spoken of; after the war, we had a secretary who had that name." "Lewin? I never had anything to do with him." "The 'swinging cupboard'? You are right, it was useless, but it was a camouflage for strangers." I asked Elli to describe to me first the front house, then the annex. For the front house, she was able to give me some details; it is true that she worked there. For the annex, her answer was interesting. She declared to me that she had, all in all, spent only one night there! She added that she did not remember the premises, since she had been very

nervous. But, in the Diary, Elli is supposed to have come to take almost all of her mid-day meals with the people in hiding (see 5 August 1943: Elli arrives regularly at 12:45 pm; 20 August 1943: she arrives regularly at 5:30 pm as a messenger of freedom; 2 March 1944: she does the dishes with the two families' mothers). In conclusion, I asked Elli to recall for me any detail of family life, any anecdote which does not appear in the book. She showed herself to be totally incapable of doing that.

60. Miep and Henk were likewise incapable of furnishing me with the least detail on the life of the people in hiding. The most important sentence of their testimony was the following: "We did not know exactly how they lived." And in addition: "We were only in the annex for one weekend; we slept in the Future room of Anne and Dussel." "How did the persons in hiding keep themselves warm? Perhaps with gas." "The coal storage place was downstairs in the store." "There was no vacuum cleaner." "The greengrocer did not bring anything to Prinsengracht." "The 'swinging cupboard' had been constructed well before the arrival of the Franks" (!) "I myself, Miep, I brought the vegetables, while Elli brought the milk." "I myself, Henk, worked elsewhere than in the business, but every day I came to have lunch in the office of the girls and I came to speak to them for 15 or 20 minutes." (This point, among others, is in total contradiction with the Diary, where it is said that Henk, Miep and Elli took their lunch in the annex, with the people in hiding. See 5 August 1943.) During our entire interview, Miep gave me the impression of being almost in agony. Her gaze avoided me. When I finally let her speak to me about 4 August 1944, her attitude suddenly changed completely. It was with obvious pleasure that she began to call to mind, with a great abundance of details, the arrival of the police and its results. I noted, however, a striking disproportion in the details of the account. Those details were numerous, vivid and obviously truthful when Miep was calling to mind what had personally happened to her with the Austrian arresting officer, Silberbauer, either that day or on the following days. But, when it was a question of the Franks and of their companions in misfortune, the details became scanty and unclear. Thus it was that Miep had seen nothing of the arrest of the persons in hiding. She had not seen them leave. She had not seen them climb into the police vehicle, since that vehicle, which she had seen through the window of her office, "was too near the wall of the house." From a distance from the other side of the canal, Henk had seen the police vehicle, but without being able to recognize the people who were entering or leaving. In regard to the manuscripts, Miep repeated to me the account that she had given to Schnabel. She told me also that Mr. Frank, after returning to the Netherlands at

the end of May of 1945, lived for seven years under their roof. It was only toward the end of June or the beginning of July of 1945 that she had returned the manuscripts to him.

61. In the wake of those two interviews my judgement became the following: These three persons must have, on the whole, told me the truth about their own lives. It is probably true that they had not been familiar with, so to speak, the annex. It is certainly true that, in the front house, life unfolded approximately as they had recounted it to me (mid-day meal taken together in the office of the secretaries; the men of the store eating in the store; small food errands made in the neighborhood, etc.). It is certainly true that a police raid took place on 4 August 1944 and the Miep had had business on that day and on the following days with a Karl Silberbauer. It is probable, on the other hand, that those three persons maintained some relations with the Frank family. In that case, why did they so obviously feel reluctant to speak about it? Let us suppose, as a matter of fact, that the Franks and some other persons in hiding had really lived for 25 months in proximity to those three persons. In that case, why such a silence?

62. The answer to these questions could be the following: the Franks and, perhaps, some other Jews did actually live in the annex of 263 Prinsengracht. But they lived there quite differently than the *Diary* relates. For example, they lived a life there that was no doubt cautious, but not like a prison. They were able to live there as did so many other Jews who hid themselves either in the city, or in the countryside. They "hid themselves without hiding." Their adventure was sadly commonplace. It did not have that fantastic, absurd and obviously deceitful character that Mr. Frank had wanted to pass off as being realistic, authentic and true to life. After the war, just as much as the friends of Mr. Frank were prepared to testify on his behalf, so were they hesitant to guarantee the narrative of the *Diary*. Just as much as they were able to offer themselves as guarantors of the real sufferings of Mr. Frank and of his family, so did it seem difficult for them to bear witness, in addition, to imaginary sufferings. Kraler, Koophuis, Miep, Elli, Henk showed their friendship to Mr. Frank; they publicly showed their sympathy for him as for a man full of charm and, at the same time, overwhelmed with misfortunes. Perhaps they felt flattered to be presented in the press as his companions in his days of misfortune. Perhaps certain among them accepted the idea that, when a man has suffered, he has the moral right to exaggerate somewhat the story of his sufferings. In the eyes of certain of them, the main point could have been that Mr. Frank and his family had had to suffer cruelly at the hands of the Germans; in that case the "details" of

those sufferings mattered little. But kindness has its limits. Mr. Frank found only one person to guarantee his account of the existence of the Diary. That person was his former secretary and friend: Miep Van Santen (by her real name: Miep Gies). Still the testimony of Miep is strangely hesitant. Her testimony comes back to saying that after the arrest of the Franks, she had gathered up from the floor of a room of the annex a diary, an account book, some notebooks and a certain number of loose leaf sheets. For her it was a matter of objects belonging to Anne Frank. Miep only gave that testimony in an official form thirty years after the events, on 5 June 1974, in the office of Mr. Antoun Jacob Dragt, a notary in Amsterdam. Miep added that she had made the discovery with Elli. But, on the same day, in the presence of the same notary, the latter declared that she remembered having been there when those things had been discovered. The restraint is important and it must not have pleased Mr. Frank.

63. Schnabel wrote (see above, paragraph 50) that all the "witnesses" whom he had questioned—including, consequently, Miep, Elli, Honk and Koophuis—had behaved as if they had to protect themselves against the legend of Anne Frank. He added that if they all had read the Diary, they nevertheless did not mention it. That last sentence means obviously that, in each interview with a witness, it was Schnabel himself who had to take the initiative in speaking of the Diary. We know that his book had not been published in the Netherlands, except in a shortened and censored form: it is in the Netherlands that the principal "witnesses" are located. For its part, the article from *Der Spiegel* (see, above, paragraph 55) proves that others of Mr. Frank's "Witnesses" have ended up having the same negative reactions. The foundations of the myth of Anne Frank—a myth that rests on the truth and authenticity of the Diary—have not been strengthened with time: they have crumbled.

Chapter Six

64. The " betrayer" and the person who arrested the Franks: why has Mr. Frank wanted to assure them anonymity?

65. Since 1944, Mr. Frank and his friends knew that their alleged " betrayer" was named Van Maaren and the person who arrested them was named Silberbauer. Van Maaren was one of the employees in their store. Silberbauer was a non-commissioned officer of the Security Service (SD) in Amsterdam. In the Diary, as well as in the previously mentioned book by Schnabel, Van Maaren is called V.M. As regards Silberbauer, he is called

Silberthaler in Schnabel's book. It seems that at the time of the Liberation, Van Maaren had some trouble with the law in his country. His guilt could not be proved, Mr. Frank told me. "V.M. had had enough troubles like that and he should be left alone." Schnabel had not wanted to obtain the testimony of V.M. nor had he wanted to obtain that of the arresting officer.

66. In 1963, the world press suddenly echoed with a striking news story: Simon Wiesenthal had just rediscovered the person who arrested the Franks. He was named Karl Silberbauer. He was a police official in Vienna. Wiesenthal had not informed Mr. Frank about his research. The latter, questioned by journalists, declared that he had known for nearly twenty years the name of the person who arrested him. He added that that entire affair was unfortunate and that Silberbauer had only done his duty in arresting him. Miep, for her part, declared that if she had used the pseudonym of Silberthaler to designate the arresting officer, that was only at the request of Mr. Frank; the latter had pointed out that there could, as a matter of fact, be some other persons bearing the name of Silberbauer to whom, consequently, some harm could be done: "(De Heer Frank) had mij verzocht de naam Silberthaler te noemen, omdat er misschien nog meer mensen Silberbauer heetten en die zouden wij dan in diskrediet brengen" (Volkskrant, 21 November 1963).

67. There was a kind of struggle between Simon Wiesenthal and Mr. Frank. It was the latter who in a way got the best of it. As a matter of fact, Karl Silberbauer was, at the end of eleven months, reinstated in the Viennese police. A disciplinary commission, sitting behind closed doors (as is the custom), released him. The judgement in the appeal commission ("Oberdisziplinarkommission") was likewise favorable to Silberbauer, as were also conclusions of a commission of inquiry of the Ministry of the Interior. Silberbauer had indeed arrested the Franks at 263 Prinsengracht, but his participation in "war crimes against the Jews or members of the resistance" could not be proved. In June of 1978, I obtained an interview with Simon Wiesenthal in his office in Vienna. In regard to that affair, he declared to me that Mr. Frank was "crazy." In his opinion, Mr. Frank, in his concern to maintain a cult (that of his daughter), meant to spare the former Nazis, while he, Simon Wiesenthal, had only one concern: that of seeing justice done. Simon Wiesenthal did not know the real name of the store employee V.M. There again Mr. Frank had done what was necessary: the Royal Institute of Documentation (for the Second World War), directed by his friend Louis De Jong, responded, if we are to believe an Amsterdam newspaper (Trouw, 22 November 1963), that that name

would not be given to Mr. Wiesenthal, even if he asked for it: "... deze naam zou men zelfs aan Mr. Wiesenthal niet doorgeven, wanneer deze daarom zou verzoeken".

68. The authorities in Vienna were not able to authorize me to consult the records of the commissions of inquiry. As to Karl Silberbauer, he died in 1972. My inquiry was therefore limited to the analysis of some Dutch, German and French newpapers from 1963 and 1964 and to the interviewing of a witness whom I believe to be well informed, honest and the possessor of a good memory. That witness begged us, my companion and myself, not to reveal his name. I have promised to say nothing about his name. I will keep my promise only half-way. The importance of his testimony is such that it seemed impossible to me to pass over it in silence. The name of that witness and his address as well as the name of my companion and his address are put down in a sealed envelope.

69. Here is, to begin with, what I would call: "The testimony of Karl Silberbauer, collected by a Dutch journalist of the *Haague Post* and translated into German by a Jewish German journalist of the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* (6 December 1963, page 10)." Silberbauer recounts that at the time (4 August 1944) he had received a telephone call from an unknown person who had revealed to him that some Jews remained hidden in an office on Prinsengracht: "I then alerted eight Dutchmen of the Security Service (SD) and went with them to Prinsengracht. I saw that one of my Dutch companions tried to speak to an employee but the latter made a gesture with his thumb toward the upstairs." Silberbauer described how he entered the place where the Jews kept themselves hidden: "The people ran in all directions and packed their suitcases. One man then came toward me and presented himself as being Otto Frank. He had been, he said, a reserve officer in the German Army. To my question about the length of time that they had been in hiding, Frank had answered: 'Twenty-five months.' Seeing that I did not want to believe him, Siberbauer continued, he took the hand of a young girl who stood at his side. That must have been Anne. He placed the child against the side post of a door, which bore some marks in various places. I spoke again to Frank: 'What a pretty girl you have there!'" Silberbauer said then that he had only very much later made the connection between that arrest and what the newspapers said about the Frank family. After the war, his reading of the *Diary* surprised him very much. He especially did not understand how Anne could have known that the Jews were gassed: "We were all unaware," Siberbauer explained, "of what awaited the Jews. I especially do not understand how Anne in her

diary could assert that the Jews were gassed." In the opinion of Silberbauer, nothing would have happened to the Franks if they had not kept themselves hidden.

70. That exclusive interview with Silberbauer constitutes a very faithful summary, I think, of the remarks attributed by the journalists to the person who arrested the Frank family. The testimony that I announced above (paragraph 68) confirms in general the content of the interview, with the exception that the episode of the raised thumb would be a sheer fabrication. Silberbauer supposedly noted nothing of the kind, for the good reason, besides, that he is supposed to have made his way immediately toward the annex. He did nothing but take the corridor and the stairway, without any detour toward the offices or the stores. And it is there that the testimony in question furnishes us with an important element. One will have noticed that, in his interview, the policeman does not state precisely how he had access to the place where those in hiding kept themselves. He does not mention the existence of a "swinging cupboard" ("ein drehbares Regal"). But my witness is quite positive: Silberbauer had never encountered anything of the kind, but . . . a heavy wooden door like one finds at the entrance, for example, of a storehouse. the exact word was "ein Holzverschlag." The policeman had simply knocked at the door and . . . it had been opened to him. A third point of this testimony is, if possible, still more important. Karl Silberbauer said and repeated that he did not believe in the authenticity of the famous Diary, since, according to him, there had never been on the site anything that would resemble the manuscripts that Miep claimed to have found scattered about the floor one week after 4 August 1944. The policeman had the professional habit of carrying out arrests and searches since before the war. Such a pile of documents would not have escaped his notice. (Let us add here that eight men accompanied him and that the entire operation had been conducted slowly and correctly and then the policeman, after having entrusted the key to the premises to V.M. or to another employee, had returned to the premises on three occasions.) Silberbauer, the witness asserts, had the habit of saying that Miep had not, in reality, played a great role in that whole story (whence comes the fact that they had not even arrested her). Afterwards, Miep had tried to give herself some importance, notably with that episode of the miraculous discovery of the manuscripts.

71. The same witness declared to me, in the presence of my companion, that Silberbauer in 1963-1964 had drawn up an account, for the courts, of the arrest of the Franks and that those details might appear, in that account. A second witness certainly

could have given me very valuable testimony on the statements of Silberbauer, but that second witness preferred to say nothing.

Chapter Seven

72. *Comparision of the Dutch and the German text:* attempting to make too much of it, Mr. Frank has given himself away; he has signed a literary fraud.

73. I have two texts in front of me. The first is in Dutch (D), while the second is in German (G). The publishers tell me that D is the original text, while G is the translation of that original text. I do not have *a priori* any reason to challenge their word. But scientific rigor, as well as common sense and experience, teach that it is necessary to receive the statements of publishers with caution. It happens, as a matter of fact, that there can be error or deceit on their part. A book is a piece of merchandise like any other. The label can be deceiving about the content. As a consequence, I will set aside here the labels that are proposed to me or that are imposed upon me. I will speak neither about the "original version in Dutch," nor about the "translation into German." I will temporarily suspend all judgement. I will grant a precise name to those two books only with reservations. For the moment, I will give them a name which is, at the same time, equal and neutral. I will therefore speak of texts.

74. I am going to describe the text D and the text G that I have before me. I am going to begin with text D, but I could, just as well, begin with text G. I insist on this last point. The order of succession that I have chosen here ought not to imply any succession in time, nor any relationship of filiation of the father/son kind between D and G.

75. My text D is presented in this manner: Anne Frank/*Het Achterhuis/Dagboekbrieven/14 Juni 1942-1 Augustus 1944/1977, Uitgeverij Contact, Amsterdam, Eerste druk 1947/Vijfenvijftigste druk 1977/*. The author's text begins on page 22 with the photographic reproduction of a sort of dedication signed: "Anne Frank, 12 Juni 1942." On page 23 appears the first of the 169 entries which make up this "diary" to which they have given the title *The Annex*. The book has 273 pages. The last page of the text is page 269. I estimate the length of the text itself at about 72,500 Dutch words. I have not compared the text of that 55th edition with the text of the first edition. At the time of my investigation in Amsterdam, I received assurances from Messrs. Fred Batten and Christian Blom that no change had been made in the successive editions. Those two persons were employed by the Contact

publishing house and they were involved, along with Mr. P. De Neve (deceased), in the original acceptance of the typed manuscript that Mr. Frank had deposited with an interpreter by the name of Mr. Kahn. It is this Mr. Kahn who was, in 1957, to serve as the companion and interpreter for Ernst Schnabel, when the latter came to see Elli in Amsterdam.

76. My text G is presented in this manner: *Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank/12 Juni 1942-1 August 1944/1977*, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag/No. 77/Ungekürzte Ausgabe/43. Auflage 1293000-133200/Aus dem Hollandischen übertragen von Anneliese Schutz/Hollandische Original-Ausgabe, "Het Achterhuis", Contact, Amsterdam. After the dedication page, the first of the entries appears on page 9. There are 175 entries. The last entry ends on page 201. I estimate the length of the text at about 77,000 German words. The book had 203 pages. This paperback was first published in March 1955. Fischer obtained the Lizenzausgabe (distribution license) from the Lambert-Schneider publishing house, in Heidelberg.

77. I call attention to a first troubling fact. Text D has 169 entries while text G, which is presented as the translation of text D, has 175 entries.

78. I call attention to a second troubling fact. I set out in search of the extra entries of text G. It is not six entries that I discover (175 minus 169 equals 6), but seven entries. The explanation is the following: text G does not have the entry of "6 December 1943" from text D.

79. I point out a third troubling fact. Since the Dutch language and the German language are very close to each other, the translation ought not to be appreciably longer than the text that is being translated. But, even if I disregard the number of words that make up the seven entries in question, I am very far from reaching a difference of approximately 4,500 (G 77,000 minus D 72,500 equals 4,500). Therefore, text G even when it has some entries in common with text D, has them under another form: in every case, under a longer form. Here is my proof, supported by figures:

a) Additional entries that G has:

3 August 1943	210 words approximately
7 August 1943	1600 "
20 February 1943	270 "
15 April 1944	340 "
21 April 1944	180 "
25 April 1944	190 "
Total	3170 words approximately

[Error on my part (R. Faurisson): The entry of 12 May 1944 (380 words) is not missing from text D. It is in text D but is dated 11 May. What is missing in text D is the entry of 11 May which, in text G, has . . . 520 words!]

b) The entry that G is lacking:

6 December 1943 380 words approximately

c) Extra words that G has, considering an equal number of entries:

4500 minus (3170 minus 380) equals 1710 words.

In reality, as will be seen later on, this number only represents a small part of the surplus of words that G has. But, meanwhile, in order not to seem too attached to the calculations, I am going to give some precise examples involving approximately 550 words.

80. Among the entries that D and G apparently have in common, here are some letters (among many others) where G has some extra fragments, that is to say some fragments with which the Dutch reader was never acquainted:

16 October 1942	"Vater . . . Schriftsteller"	20 words
20 October 1942	"Nachdem . . . habe"	30 "
5 February 1943	"Über . . . bedeutet"	100 "
10 August 1943	"Gestern . . . anziehen"	140 "
31 March 1943	"Hier . . . prima"	70 "
	"Als . . . warum?"	25 "
2 May 1944	"Inzwischen . . . spendiert"	90 "
3 May 1944	"Herr . . . besorgt"	40 "
	"Langer . . . hat"	35 "
Total of these simple examples -		550 words

81. Among the entries that D and G apparently have in common, here are some entries (among many others) where G is missing some fragments, that is to say some fragments with which the German reader was never acquainted:

17 November 1942	"Spéciale . . . overgelegd" . . .	15 words
13 June 1943	"Daar Pim . . . heeft"	30 words
29 July 1943	"Ijdelheid . . . persoontje" . . .	20 "
Total of these simple examples..		65 words

One remarkable fact is that the fragments that are missing are very numerous and very short. For example, the letter of 20 August 1943 is cut by 19 words in the German text, and those 19 words are distributed in the following manner:

$$3 + 1 + 4 + 4 + 7 = 19.$$

82. I call attention to a fourth troubling fact. That fact is independent of the quantities that are extra or lacking. This fact is that some fragments of entries move somehow from one letter to the other, from text D to text G. For example, the entire next-to-the-last paragraph of letter D of Donderdag, 27 April 1944 is found in the last paragraph of letter G of Dienstag, 25 April 1944. On the 7th of January 1944, the last paragraph of D becomes, in G, the sixth paragraph before the end. On 27 April 1944, the next-to-the-last paragraph of D becomes, in G, the last paragraph of the entry of 25 April 1944.

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83. I call attention to a fifth troubling fact. It is not a question, this time, of additions, of subtractions, of transferrals, but of alterations which are the sign of inconsistencies. I mean to say this: suppose that I leave aside all the features by which D and G differ so obviously from one another, and suppose that I turn now toward what I would call "the remainder" (a "remainder" which, according to the publishers, ought to make up "the common stock," "the identical part"), I am surprised to find out that, from one end to the other of these two books, except with the rarest exceptions, this "remainder" is very far from being identical. As is going to be seen by the examples that follow, these inconsistencies cannot be attributed to a clumsy or whimsical translation. The same entry of 10 March 1943 gives, for D, "Bij kaarslicht" ("by candlelight") and, for G, "Bei Tage" ("By daylight"); "een nacht" ("one night") for "Eines Tages" ("one day"); "verdwennen dieven" ("the robbers disappeared") for "schwieg der Larm" ("the noise became quiet"). On 13 January 1943, Anne said that she rejoiced at the prospect of buying after the war some "nieuwe kleren en schoenen" ("some new clothes and shoes"); that is in text D, because in text G she speaks of "neue Kleider und Bucher" (of "new clothes and books"). On 18 May 1943, Mrs. Van Daan is "als door Mouschi gebeten" ("as if bitten by Mouschi [the cat]"); that is in text D, because in text G she is "wie von einer Tarantel gestochen" ("as if stung by a tarantula"). Depending on whether one consults D or G, a man is a "fascist" or a "Riese" ("giant") (20 October 1942). Some "red beans and some white beans" ("bruine en witte bonen") become "white beans" ("weisse Bohnen") (12 March 1943). Some sandals for 6.5 florins become some sandals without indication of price (*ibidem*), while "five hostages" ("een stuk of 5 gijzelaars") has become "a certain number of these hostages" ("eine Anzahl dieser Geiseln"), and that in the same entry of 9 October 1942 where "the Germans" ("Duitsers") are no more than "these Germans" ("diese Deutschen") who are very specifically the Nazis (see above, paragraph 54). On 17 November 1942, Dussel meets the Franks and the Van Daans in their hiding-place. Text D says that

"Miep helped him to take off his overcoat" ("Miep liet hem zijn jas uitdoen"); learning that the Franks are there, "he nearly fainted from surprise" and, says Anne, he remained "silent" "as if he wanted first a little time, a moment, to read the truth on our faces" ("viel hij haast flauw van verbazing . . . sprakeloos . . . alsof hij eerst even goed de waarheid van onze gezichten wilde lezen"); but text G says of Dussel that he "had to take off his overcoat" and describes his astonishment in this way: "he could not understand . . . he was not able to believe his eyes" ("Er musste den Mantel ausziehen . . . konnte er es nicht fassen . . . und wollte seinen Augen nicht trauen"). A person who suffered from an eye problem and who "bathed it with camomile tea" ("bette het . . . met kamillen-the") becomes a person who "made himself some compresses" ("machte Umschläge") (10 December 1942). Where "Papa" alone is waiting ("Pim verwacht"), it is "we" all who are waiting ("Wir erwarten") (27 February 1943). Where the two cats receive their names of Moffi and Tommi, according to whether they appear "boche" ("German") or "angliche" ("English"), "just as in politics" ("Net als in de politiek"), text G says that they were named "according to their spiritual dispositions" ("Ihren Anlagen gemass") (12 March 1943). On 26 March 1943, some people who "were in an endless fear" ("schreckten immer wieder auf"), "a piece of flannel" ("een lap flanel") becomes a "mattress cover" ("Matratzenschoner") (1 May 1943). "To go on strike" ("Staken") "in many areas" ("in viele gebieden") becomes: "sabotage is committed on all sides" ("an allen Ecken und Enden sabotiert wird") (*ibidem*). A "folding bed" ("harmonicabed") is encountered as a "lounge-chair" ("Liegestuhl") (21 August 1942). The following sentence: "The gunfire no longer did anything to us, our fear had gone away" ("Het kanonvuur deerde ons niet meer, onze angst was weggevaagd") becomes: "and the situation, for today, was saved" ("und die Situation war fur heute gerettet") (18 May 1943).

84. I had noted these few examples in inconsistencies in the course of a simple sample which did not go beyond the 54th entry of text D (18 May 1943). I decided then to initiate a much more rigorous sample, bearing on the eleven entries going from 19 July to 29 September 1943 (entries 60 to 73). To the inconsistencies, I decided to add the additions and the subtractions. The result was such that the simple enumeration of the differences noted would require several typewritten pages. I am not able to do that here. I will content myself with only a few examples here, avoiding the most striking ones since, unfortunately, the most striking are also the longest ones to cite.

- Entry of 19 July 1943 "parents killed" ("dode ouders") becomes "parents" ("Eltern");
- Entry of 23 July 1943: G has, in addition, at least 49 words plus 3 words;
- Entry of 26 July 1943: G has, in addition, four plus four words and is lacking two words: "over Italie";
- Entry of 29 July 1943: G has twenty words missing and "twenty years" ("twintig jaar") becomes "twenty-five years" ("25 Jahren");
- Entry of 3 August 1943: this letter of 210 words in text G is completely missing in text D;
- Entry of 4 August 1943: D gives "couch" and G "lounge-chair." In D a flea "floats" ("drijft") in the wash water, "only in warm months or weeks" ("allen in de hete maanden of weeken"), while for G that flea must "lose his life" ("sein Leben lassen") there, without any other detail concerning weather. D gives: "to use some cotton [soaked] in hydrogen peroxide (that serves to bleach her black moustache fuzz)" ("waterstofwatjes hanteren [dient om zwarte snorharen te bleken]"), while G gives simply: "and other little toiletry secrets . . ." ("und andere kleine Toilettengeheimniss . . ."). The comparison of "like a brook falling from a mountain" ("als een beekje van een berg") becomes "like a brook on the boulders" ("wie ein Bachlein über die Kiessel"). Some "irregular French verbs": this is what Anne thinks of in text D ("aan Franse onregelmatige wekworden"), but, in text G, this can only be about irregular Dutch verbs, it seems, since she says that she "dreams" ("traume ich") of "irregular verbs" ("von unregelmässigen Verben"). Text G contents itself with: "Rrrrrring, upstairs [sounds the Van Daans'] alarm" ("Krrrrr, oben der Wecker"), while D gives: "Rrrring . . . the little alarm [sounds], which at each hour of the day (when it is wanted or sometimes also without being wanted) can raise its little voice." ("Trrr . . . het wekkertje, dat op elk uur van de dag [als men er naar vraagt of soms ook sonder dat] zijn stemmetje kan verheffen");
- Entry of 5 August 1943: all of it is a description of the usual meal, from 1:15 pm to 1:45 pm, and of the things that follow, and there are important differences; besides, what is announced, by D, as "The great share-out" is announced by

G as "Small lunch" ("De grote uitdeling"/"Kleiner Lunch") I underline the adjectives; the possible, but not certain, irony of D has disappeared in G. Of the three "couches" in D, there only remains one "couch" in G;

- Entry of 7 August 1943: this letter constitutes quite an interesting puzzle. A very long letter, it begins, in text G, with nine lines introducing a story of 74 lines entitled *Kaatje* as well as another story of 99 lines entitled *Katrientje*. This entry is completely absent from D. The Dutch, for their part, know of these stories only by way of a separate book entitled *Stories*, in which there appear, besides, some other "unedited stories" of Anne Frank;
- Entry of 9 August 1943: among many other curious things there are "some horn-rimmed glasses" ("een hoornen bril") which become "some dark horn-rimmed glasses" ("eine dunkle Hornbrille") in text G;
- Entry of 10 August 1943: the "war material" of D becomes the "guns" ("Kanonen") of G. The sentence concerning the bell in the Westertoren is entirely different. And, especially, G has an episode of 140 words which does not appear in D. Anne, who has received some new shoes, tells there about a series of misadventures that had happened to her on that same day: she had pricked her right thumb with a large needle; she had bumped her head against the door of the cupboard; because of the noise caused, she received a "scolding" ("Ruffel"); she was not able to soothe her forehead since it was necessary not to turn on the water; she had a large bruise over her right eye; she had stubbed her toe on the vacuum cleaner; her foot became infected, it is all swollen. Result: Anne cannot put on her pretty new shoes. (You will have noticed here the presence of a vacuum cleaner in a place where silence would have had to be necessary constantly;
- Entry of 18 August 1943: among nine differences, we see some "beans" ("bonen") turn into green peas ("Erbsen");
- Entry of 20 August 1943: I will mention only one example of a difference; it concerns the bread; the narrative is appreciably different and, besides, for text D, this bread is located in two successive locations: at first the steel cupboard of the office looking out on the street (in the front house), then, the kitchen cupboard of the annex ("stalen kast", "voorkantoor"/"Keukenkast"), while G only mentions the first

location, without being precise about the second; the unfortunate thing is that the first location mentioned by D is a simple cupboard located in the office looking out on . . . the courtyard: the office of Kraler, and not that of Koophuis ("the bread, which is put in Kraler's room for us every day")! (About the respective offices of Kraler and of Koophuis, see the entry of 9 July 1942.) There is here a serious material contradiction between the two texts, with changes of words, of sentences, etc.:

- Entry of 23 August 1943: among other curious things, "to read or to study" ("lesen of leren") becomes "to read or to write" ("lesen oder schreiben"), "Dickens and the dictionary" ("Dickens en het woordenboek") becomes only "Dickens", some "bolsters" ("peluwen") turn into "eider-down pillows" ("Plumeaus") (in Dutch, "eider-down pillows" would be said as "eiderdons" or "dekbed");
- Entry of 10 September 1943: among five differences, I notice that the broadcast, so eagerly awaited each day, from Radio-Oranje (the Voice of Holland from overseas) begins at 8:15 pm for D and at 8:00 pm for G;
- Entry of 16 September 1943: "ten valerianes" ("tien Valeriaantjes") become "ten of the small white pills" ("zehn von den kleinen weissen Pillen"). "A long face and a drooping mouth" ("een uitgestreken gezicht en neerhangende mond") became "a tight-lipped mouth with worry lines" ("einen zusammengekniffenen Mund und Sorgenfalten"). The winter compared to a fearful obstacle, a "biting" winter, which is there like a "heavy block of stone" ("het grote rotsblok, dat winter heet"), is no more than a simple winter ("dem Winter"). An "overcoat" ("jas") becomes "hat and cane" ("Hut und Stock"). A sentence of 24 words, claiming to describe a picturesque scene, finds itself reduced to five German words. On the other hand, six Dutch words become 13 German words with a very different meaning;
- Entry of 29 September 1943: "a grumbling father" ("een mopperenden vader") becomes "the father who is not in agreement with her choice" ("den Vater, der nicht mit ihrer Wahl einverstanden ist"). "Energetically" ("energiiek") becomes "ganz kalt und ruhig" ("in a quite cold and quiet manner"), etc.

85. I think that it is useless to pursue such an enumeration. It is

not exaggerated to say that the first entry of the collection gives us, in a way, the tone of the whole. In that short letter, the Dutch learn that, for her birthday, Anne received "a little plant" ("een plantje"). The Germans have the privilege of learning that that plant was "a cactus" ("eine Kaktee"). In return, the Dutch know that Anne received "two peony branches," while the Germans must content themselves with knowing that there were "some peony branches" ("einige Zweige Pfingstrosen"). The Dutch have the right to the following sentence: "such were, that morning, the children of Flora who sat on my table" ("dat waren die ochtend do kindoron van Flora die op mijn tafel stonden"). In the German text, the table has disappeared, as well as "the children of Flora" (a curious, hackneyed phrase from the pen of a child of thirteen; one would have expected it rather from an adult seeking laboriously and artlessly to "decorate" his style). The Germans simply have the right to: "These were the first flowers offered by way of greetings" ("Das waren die ersten Blumengrusse"). The Dutch learn that Anne, on that day, will offer to her teachers and to her classmates "some butter cakes" ("boterkoekjes"). The Germans have the right to some "candy" ("Bonbons"). The "chocolate," present for the Dutch, will disappear for the Germans. More surprising: a book that Anne will be able to buy for herself with the money that has just been given to her on that Sunday 14 June 1942, becomes, in the German text, a book that she has already bought for herself ("zodat ik me . . . kan kopen"/"habe ich mir . . . gekauft").

86. On the other hand, the last entry of the collection is identical in the two texts. That confirms for us, if there were need for it, that the German translator—if one must speak about "translation"—was quite capable of respecting the Dutch text. But it is too evident now that one cannot speak of translation, nor even of "adaptation." Is it to translate, is it to "adapt" to put day for night (10 March 1943)? books for shoes (13 January 1943)? candy for butter cakes (14 June 1942)? giants for fascist (20 October 1942)? Is "candles" translated by "day" and "cats" by "tarantula"? "to float" by "to die"? "large" by "small" (4 August 1943)? Only magicians can change an overcoat into a hat and a cane. With Mrs. Anneliese Schutz and Mr. Frank, the table disappears (14 June 1942) and the stairway steals away (the Dutch entry of 16 September 1943 mentions a very peculiar stairway, which would have led directly to the persons in hiding: "die direct naar boven leidt"). The bread storage place changes its location. What is behind is encountered again in front (Kraler's office). numbers appear and disappear. Hours change. Faces change. Events multiply or disappear. Beings as well as things are subject to eclipses and to sudden changes. Anne, one

could say, emerges from her tomb in order to come to lengthen one of her narratives or to shorten it; sometimes she writes another or even reduces it to nothingness.

87. Ten years after her death, Anne's text continues to change. In 1955, the Fischer publishing house publishes her *Diary* as a pocket-book under a "discreetly" reworked form. The reader could especially compare the following entries:

- 9 July 1942: "Hineingekommen . . . gemalt war" (25 words) replaced by: "Neben . . . gemalt war" (41 words). The appearance of a door!
- 11 July 1942: "bango" replaced by "besorgt";
- 21 September 1942: "gerugt" replaced by "gescholten" and "drei Westen" changing itself into "drei Wolljacken";
- 27 September 1942: "mit Margot bin ich nicht mehr so intim" becomes: "mit Margot verstehe mich nicht sehr gut";
- 28 September 1942: "besturzt" replaced by "erschuttert";
- 7 November 1942: "ohne den Hergang zu kennen" becomes: "ohne zu wissen, worum es ging" and "Er ist mein Ideal" becomes: "Er ist mein leuchtendes Vorbild". That last change of the text is not lacking in flavor, if one knows that it is a question here of Anno's father. Mr. Frank is no longer an "ideal" for his daughter, but "a shining model"! Another change: "und das Aorgste ist" becomes: "und am schlimmsten ist";
- 7 August 1943: I pointed out above (see paragraph 84) this very long letter which contains two stories. I suppose that these stories existed in the manuscript which had been reserved for them and that they had been wrongly inserted into the *Diary*. In that case, one asks oneself who wrote the nine lines of introduction, where Anne asks her correspondent especially if she believes that her stories are going to please children.

88. These last changes were made from one German text to another German text. They could therefore not have the excuse of a clumsy or whimsical translation. They prove that the *Diary*'s author—the term that I ordinarily use for the person responsible for the text that I am reading—was still alive in 1955. In the same way, in discovering the German text of 1950 (Lambert-Schneider

edition), I discovered that the author of the *Diary* (an especially prolific author) was still alive in 1950. That author could not have been Anne Frank, who, as we know, died in 1945.

89. In my comparisons of the texts, I have followed the official chronological order. I have shown how the text printed in Dutch (1947) clashed with the first printed German text (1950), which, in its turn, underwent some strange metamorphosis in the second printed German text (1955). But, scientifically speaking, nothing proves that the chronological order of publication reflects the chronological order of composition. For example, there could have been some manuscripts in German which preceded the putting together of the Dutch manuscripts. It could be that the model or the "first edition" outline had been written in German. It could be that afterwards that model or that outline, after having given birth to a text translated into Dutch, had also given birth to an entirely rewritten German text. It could be that, for several years, some very different texts had thus lived in symbiosis. That phenomenon is called the phenomenon of contamination. It is nevertheless clear that Mr. Frank cannot invoke that argument about the contamination of the texts, since there exists, according to him, one single text: that of the Dutch manuscripts. For certain periods of the twenty-five months at the Prinsengracht, it is possible that the different manuscripts of the *Diary* offer us some variant readings; still, those variant readings could not provide us with the innumerable absurdities and inconsistencies that we have seen. For other periods, like that of an entire year (from 6 December 1942 to 21 December 1943), when, according to Mr. Frank's own admission, we have at our disposal only one version, there ought not to exist the slightest variant reading, not the slightest disagreement between text D and text G. It is for that reason that I chose from that period the largest number of my examples of inconsistencies.

✓ 90. I have noticed, in my samplings, neither more nor fewer inconsistencies for that period than for the other periods. In a uniform way, text D presents us an Anne Frank who has, if not the traits, at least fits the stereotype of the young adolescent, while text G offers us the stereotype of the adolescent already near, in certain respects, to being a mature woman. There are, in text G, some passages that are incompatible with the corresponding passages of text D, and even formally incompatible with the entire substance of all of text D. There we reach the height of the intolerable in the manipulation of texts. Here is, for example, the letter of 5 January 1944. Anne confesses that before her time in hiding, that is to say, before the age of thirteen, she had happened, while spending the night at the home of a girlfriend, to

feel the need to kiss her: ". . . I had a strong desire to kiss her, and I did do so. . ." ("een sterke behoefté had haar te zoenen en dat ik dat ook gedaan her"). In text G there appears a girl of thirteen who is appreciably more knowing. Here, Anne asked her comrade for a night if, as a token of their friendship, they could feel each others breasts. But the comrade had refused. And Anne, who appears to have practice in the matter, adds: "I still found it pleasant to kiss her and I did it" ("fragte ich sie, ob wir als Beweis unserer Freundschaft uns gegenseitig die Bruste befuhlen wollten, aber sie weigerte sich. Ich fand es immer schon, sie zu küssen, und habe es auch getan"). On the sexual feelings of Anne, I recommend likewise the comparative reading of texts D and G for 7 January 1944.

It is astonishing that the Dutch reader had been deprived of so many revelations reserved by Mr. Frank and Annemarie Schutze for . . . Anne's grandmother, who was so "aged" (see, above, paragraph 54). What of the revelations again in text G on musical tastes or on musical knowledge that the Dutch did not have the right to know (for what reason, after all?)! Text G of the letter of 9 June 1944 reserves for us the sole rights to a dissertation of 200 words on the life of Liszt (treated, by a very feminist Anne, as a "petticoat chaser"/"schurzenjager"), of Beethoven, Wagner, Chopin, Rossini, Mendelssohn. Many other names are mentioned: Hector Berlioz, Victor Hugo, Honore de Balzac . . . The entry of 20 February 1944 (220 words) is absent from text D. It contains however some elements of very great importance from many points of view. Dussel has the habit of whistling "das Violinkonzert von Beethoven"; the use of time on Sundays is revealed to us; it must be recognized that one point, at least, about that use of time is more than troubling: Mr. Frank in overalls, on his knees, beating the carpet with such enthusiasm that the entire room is filled with clouds of dust ("Vater liegt im Overall auf den Knien und bürstet den Teppich mit solchem Elan, dass das ganze Zimmer in Staubwolken gehüllt ist"). In addition to the noise that such an operation would cause in a place where even at night, when the neighbors are not there, it is necessary not to cough, it is obvious that the scene is described by someone who could not have seen it: a carpet is never beaten in that way on the floor of a room, in the very place where it became dusty. In the entry of 3 November 1943, a fragment of 120 words, which is missing in text D, reveals to us another case of the carpet being brushed each evening by Anne in the "ofenluft" (the air from the stove), and that because the vacuum cleaner ("der Staubsauger") "ist kaputt" (that famous vacuum cleaner which, according to Mr. Frank, could not have existed; see above, paragraph 37). Concerning Anne's knowledge or ideas on the subject of historical

or political events, one will make some discoveries in the entries of 6 June, 13 June and 27 June 1944. On Peter's character one will find some revelations in the entry of 11 May 1944. That entry of 400 words does not exist in text D. But nevertheless, in text D, we find a letter at that date of 11 May; however, the corresponding text is dated, in text G, on 12 May! Peter defies his mother while calling her "the old lady" ("Komm mit, Alte!"). Nothing like the Peter of text D!

91. It would be interesting to subject each of the principal characters of text D and of text G to analysis by psychologists or psychiatrists. Anne, in particular, would appear under some profoundly contradictory character traits. But this is purely hypothetical. I think that in fact those analysts would see that Anne has no more real consistency than a total invention of unrelated facets. The few so-called descriptions of Anne that I have been able to find have especially convinced me that their authors have read the *Diary* very superficially. It is true that the dullness of their descriptions could be explained by the dullness of the subject described. One stereotype calls for another, as one lie calls for another.

92. The language and the style of text D strive to be characteristic of a young adolescent, innocent and awkward. The language and the style of text G strive to be characteristic of an adolescent already close, in certain respects, to being a woman. That is evident simply from the parts of the texts that I have mentioned—parts that I did not choose, however, with a view to studying the language and the style of the two Anne Franks.

93. Mr. Frank has indulged in some story-telling. That is easily established when one sees how he has transformed the printed German text of 1950 (Lambert-Schneider) in order to make from it the text printed by Fischer (1955). It was on that occasion, in particular, that he made his daughter Anno say that her father is her "ideal" (1950 version); then, after thinking it over, that he is her "shining model" (1955 version). This inclination for story-telling did not come to Mr. Frank all at once. He had, we are told by one of Anno's former teachers, the harmless idiosyncrasy of composing stories and poems with his daughter ("Sometimes she told me stories and poems which she had made up together with her . . ." *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, page 41). That happened about 1940. Anne was eleven years old and her father was 51. In 1942, Mr. Frank, a former banker in Frankfurt and a former merchant and businessman in Amsterdam, took a forced retirement at the age of 53. I do not think that his inclination for writing had disappeared then during his long days of inactivity.

In any case, the *Diary* hardly gives us any information about what Mr. Frank did with his days. But what does it matter! Mr. Frank is a story-teller who has given himself away. The drama of story-tellers is that they add more to their stories. They never stop retouching, reworking, cutting out, correcting. By doing this they end up incurring the distrust of certain people. And it is child's play for those people to prove the storytelling. It is very easy to confound Mr. Frank. It is sufficient to have at hand text D and one of the two different versions of text G. It is enough to remind him that he had declared in writing to the Dutch: "I guarantee to you that here, on such and such a date, Anne wrote: day or shoes or butter cakes or fascist or large," while to the Germans he has gone on to declare in writing regarding the same places and the same dates: "I guarantee to you that Anne wrote: night or books or candy or giant or small." If Mr. Frank told the truth in the first case, he told a story in the second case. And vice-versa. He has told a story either here, or there. Or again—and this is the most probable—he has made up the story here and there. In any case, one could never claim that Mr. Frank, in this affair of the *Diary*, is a man who has told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

94. The *Diary* can not be in any way authentic. Consultation with allegedly authentic manuscripts is unnecessary. As a matter of fact, no manuscript in the world could certify that Anne Frank succeeded in the miraculous feat of writing two words at the same time and—what is more—two words with incompatible meanings, and—even more—two complete texts at the same time, which are most of the time totally contradictory. It is well understood that every printed text can have a critical apparatus with its variant readings, its explanatory notes, its indications of the existence of possible interpolations, etc. But I have already said (see above, paragraph 88) that where one has at one's disposal only one manuscript, there are no longer any possible variant readings (barring specific cases: difficulties in deciphering a word, errors in preceding editions, etc.). And when one has at one's disposal several manuscripts (two, at the most, for certain periods of the *Diary*; perhaps three in some very limited cases), it is sufficient to eliminate those periods and those cases in order to confine oneself strictly to the periods and to the cases where it is necessary to be contented with a single manuscript (here, the period from 6 December 1942 to 21 December 1943).

95. To the hypothesis, henceforth inconceivable, according to which there would exist an authentic manuscript, I say that none of the printed texts can claim to reproduce the text of the manuscript. The following table establishes, in fact, that the Fischer

edition of 1955 comes in the eighth position in the order of succession of the varying forms of the Diary. To understand this table, refer especially to paragraphs 52. and 53.

("Official") Chronological Table of Successive Forms of the Text of the Diary

- I. The Manuscript of Anne Frank;
- II. Copy by Otto Frank, then by Otto Frank and Isa Cauvern;
- III. New Version of the Copy by Otto Frank and Isa Cauvern;
- IV. New-New Version of the Copy by Albert Cauvern;
- V. New-New-New Version by Otto Frank;
- VI. New-New-New-New Version by Otto Frank and the "Censors";
- VII. Contact Edition (1947);
- VIII. Lambert Schneider Edition (1950), radically different from the preceding one, and even incompatible with it;
- IX. Fischer Edition (1955) taking up again the preceding one in a "discreetly" (?) reworked and retouched form.

One could, of course, claim that (V.) was perhaps only a very faithful copy of (IV.). The same for (VII.) in relation to (VI.). That would be to suppose that Mr. Frank, who reworked this text continually, had suddenly refrained from doing it at the moment of recopying text (IV.) without any witness, and at the moment of the probable correction of the printer's proofs for (VII.). Personally, I maintain these nine stages as a minimum to which it is necessary indeed to add one, two or three "copies" for text (VIII.).

96. The only interest in a study of the manuscripts which are, allegedly, by Anne Frank would be to bring to light some elements still more crushing for Mr. Frank; for example, some letters or fragments of letters which have never been published (the reasons for non-publication should be inquired into closely, without trusting in the reasons given by Mr. Frank, which always have a very suspicious sentimental coloring); for example also, some very changeable names for Anne's "correspondents" (the idea of showing her always addressing herself to the same "dear Kitty" seems to be a belated idea), etc.

97. The reasoning which would consist of claiming that in the Diary there would exist nevertheless a basis of truth would be a

reasoning without value. First, because it would be necessary to know that truth or to be able to distinguish it in the jumble of the obvious fictions; the lie is, most often, only the art of adapting the truth. Then, since a work of the mind (as, for example, the editing of a "diary") is not defined by a basis, but by a unity of forms: the forms of a written expression, the forms which an individual has given to it once and for all, for better or for worse.

98. The reasoning which would consist of saying that there have only been some hundreds of changes between such-and-such form of the Diary is fallacious. The word "changes" is too vague. It allows, according to the taste of each person, all sorts of condemnations or, especially, all sorts of excuses. Furthermore, a change can involve, as we have seen, a single word or a text of 1600 words!

99. For my part, I have called attention to several hundreds of changes, only between the Dutch text and either of the two texts—which differ from each other—which have been published in Germany. I call those changes: additions, subtractions, transferences and alterations (by substitutions of one word for another, of one group of words of another—these words and these groups of words being incompatible with each other, even if indeed, by the rarest exception, the meaning could be maintained). The whole of these changes must affect approximately 25,000¹ words of the Fischer text which itself must be 77,000 words (that is, in any case, the number which I take for a base).

100. The French translation of *Het Achterhuis* can be called a "translation" in spite of the absence of one of the 169 entries of the Dutch Contact edition and notwithstanding indeed some weaknesses and also some bizarre things which lead one to think that there still could be some troublesome discoveries to be made. (*Journal/de Anne Frank Het Achterhuis*, translated from the Dutch by T. Caren and Suzanne Lombard, Calmann-Levy, 1950, printed 5 January 1974, 320 pages.) The Lambert Schneider edition cannot in any event, be presented as a translation. As to the Fischer edition, it cannot call itself a reproduction of the Lamber Schneider edition, nor a translation of *Het Achterhuis*.

101. That impressive ensemble of additions, subtractions, transferences, alterations; those fictions of Mr. Frank; those dishonesties of the editors; those interventions of outsiders,

1. That estimate from 1978 does not have great meaning. The manipulations are endemic and to calculate the number of them is illusory. (note for the present French edition of 1980.)

friends of Mr. Frank, the existence of two such different books presented as one and the same *Diary* of Anne Frank—all these reveal a work which cannot, in any way, retain the prestige attached to an authentic testimony. The inconsistencies of the various texts are of all kinds. They concern the language and the style, the length and the form of the pieces that make up the *Diary*, the number and the kind of anecdotes reported, the description of the premises, the mention of material realities, the dialogues, the ideas exchanged, the tastes expressed; they concern the very personalities of the principal characters, to begin with the personality of Anne Frank, a personality which gives the impression of living in a world of pure fiction.

102. While offering himself as personal guarantor of the authenticity of this work, which is only fiction, Mr. Frank, who has besides obviously intervened at all stages of the genesis of the book, has signed what it is appropriate to call a literary fraud. The *Diary* of Anne Frank is to be placed on the already crowded shelf of false memoirs. Our post-war period has been fertile in works or writings of this kind. Among those false, apocryphal or suspicious works (either entirely, or by insertions of foreign elements) one can mention: the various "testimonies" of Rudolf Höss, Kurt Gerstein, Miklos Nyiszli, Emmanuel Ringelblum, the memoirs of Eva Braun, Adolf Eichmann, Walter Schellenberg, but also the document entitled: "Prayer of John XXIII for the Jews." One must mention especially the false diaries fabricated by the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and denounced by the French historian Michel Borwicz, of Polish Jewish origin; among those diaries could appear that of one Therese Hescheles, age thirteen.²

103. I would take care not to forget that one of the most celebrated forgeries was fabricated against the Jews: the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. I ask that people not misunderstand the direction that I have given to my research on the authenticity of the *Diary* of Anne Frank. Even if my personal conviction is that the work comes from Mr. Frank; even if I think that at the rate of two letters per day, three months would have been enough for him to prepare the first version of his clumsy fiction; even if I think that he did not believe that his work would know such an immense success (which, at the same time, would risk causing its terrible faults to become evident); even if I think that one can then find a thousand extenuating circumstances for

2. Michel Borowicz, *Revue d'histoire de la Deuxieme Guerre mondiale*, January 1962, page 93.

him; even if I have the conviction that he did not at all seek to make up a vast hoax, but that he found himself dragged along by circumstances to guarantee all the extraordinarily brilliant results of a humble and banal undertaking—in spite of all that, the truth obliges me to say that the *Diary of Anne Frank* is only a simple literary fraud.

French Editor's Postscript (1980)

The report that you have just read was not destined for publication. In the mind of Professor Faurisson, it only constituted one piece, among others, of a work that he intended to devote to the *Diary of Anne Frank*.

We publish it today—in spite of the reticence of its author who, for his part, would have hoped for a more extended publication including some elements which are still being worked on—because the French press and the foreign press have created an uproar about the professor's opinion on the *Diary of Anne Frank*. The public itself may feel the need to judge these pieces. We have thus wished to put the essential part of these pieces at its disposal. You can thus make for yourself your own judgements on Faurisson's methods of work and on the results to which they had led him by August of 1978.

This report, in the exact form* (see next page) under which we publish it, already has an official existence. It was in August of 1978 that it was sent, in its German version, to the lawyer Jurgen Rieger to be presented as evidence at a court in Hamburg. Mr. Rieger was and still remains today the defender of Ernst Romer, subjected to a trial for having publicly expressed his doubts on the authenticity of the *Diary*.

The court, after having heard the parties and having begun to examine the basis of the litigation, decided, to everyone's surprise, to adjourn any new session *sine die*.

According to the usual scenario, from the time the trial opened the press dictated to the court the conduct to follow. The Social Democratic Party of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt went into the front lines of the battle and in a long open letter vigorously took a position in favor of Mr. Frank. For this political party, the cause was judged in advance, and the authenticity of the *Diary* had been proved a long time ago.

The court in question, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Rieger to start the trial once more, has never rendered its judgement. The German press deplored the fact that Mr. Otto Frank still had to wait for "justice to be done."

Still, this refusal to judge constitutes progress. In a similar

case, Professor Faurisson had drawn up a five page report summarizing his research and his conclusions about the "gas chambers." That statement was signed and the signature was notarized. The professor had gone so far as to cite the text of the *Journal officiel* of the French Republic establishing that a legalization of signature in France was valid in West Germany. A waste of effort: in the reasons presented for the condemnation, the Court decreed that "Faurisson" was only a pseudonym. For the same reason it refused the testimony of the American professor Arthur R. Butz.

Justice is equal for all, subject to the *exceptio diabolica*.

*With one exception. The original report contained an Appendix #3 which consisted of a statement from a French university professor who is highly regarded for his competence in the matter of textual criticism. The last phrase of the statement is the following: "It is certain that the customs of literary communication authorize Mr. Frank, or anyone else, to construct as many fictional characters of Anne Frank as he wants to, but on condition that he does not pretend that these fictional beings are identical with the character of his daughter." That argument from authority, that is, the statement of an eminent academic on the quality of the work carried out, is itself presentable to a court, but it is not justified in a public debate. Furthermore, two other professors were preparing to reach the same conclusions, when suddenly the "Faurisson Affair" broke out in the press in November of 1978. Those professors prudently decided to abstain. As a consequence, we have decided not to name anyone. The debate having become public, it behooves each one to determine if he wishes to intervene publicly.

Appendix I

photographs

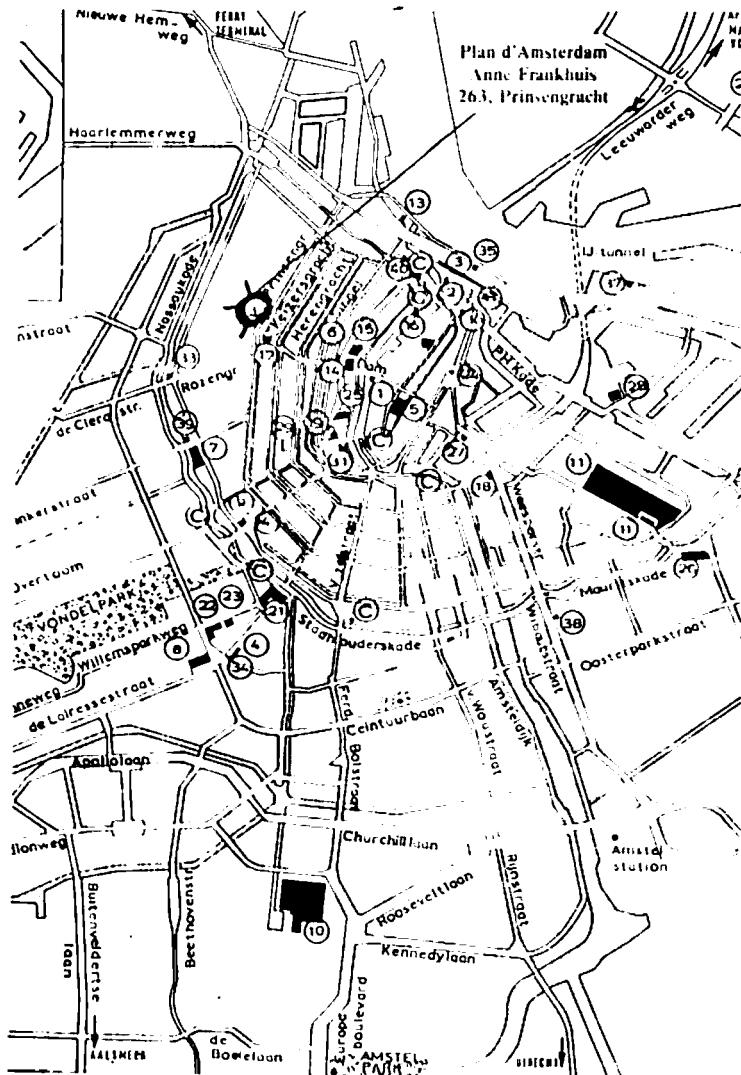


Photo no. 1
Map of Amsterdam, 263
Prinsengracht Street, a
busy place right in the
very heart of the city.

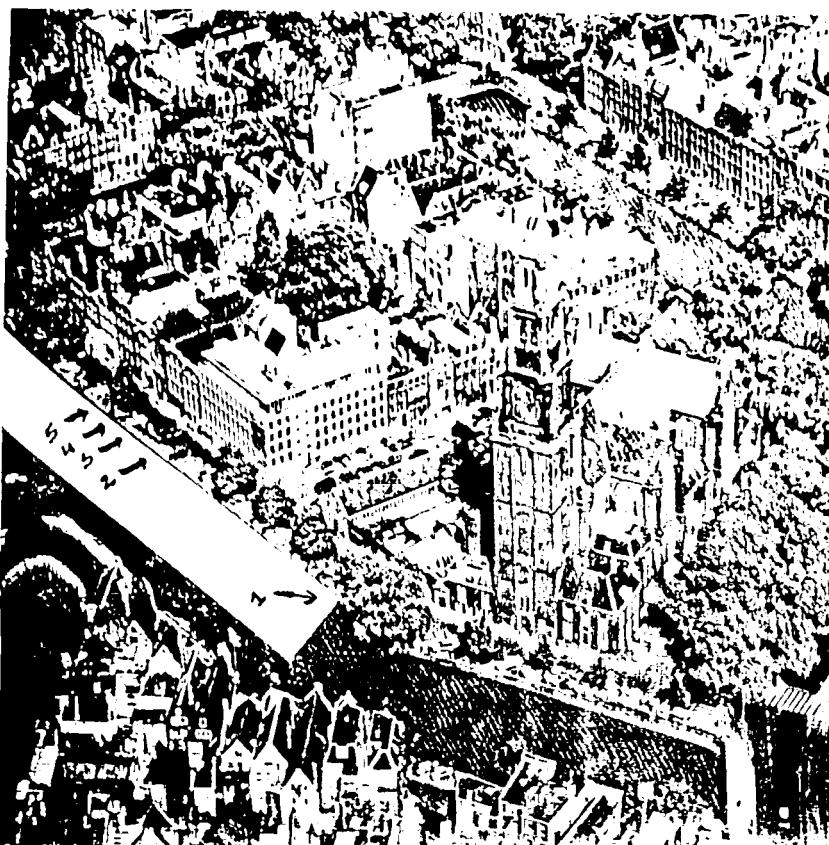


Photo no. 2
Aerial view of the building at 263 Prinsengracht. A picturesque building typical of the old Amsterdam. It is surrounded by buildings of the same type, visible from everywhere, especially from the tower of the Westerkirk church.
1. The Westerkirk church
2. The "Anne Frank Home" (recent construction).
3. House no. 265 (with annex with black roof).
4. House no. 263 (with annex with red roof); the "Anne Frank House."
5. House no. 261 with a long red roof (without annex). Note how the houses of the neighborhood crowd around a central green space; the Anne Frank House and its "annex" were exposed from all directions, regardless of the trees.



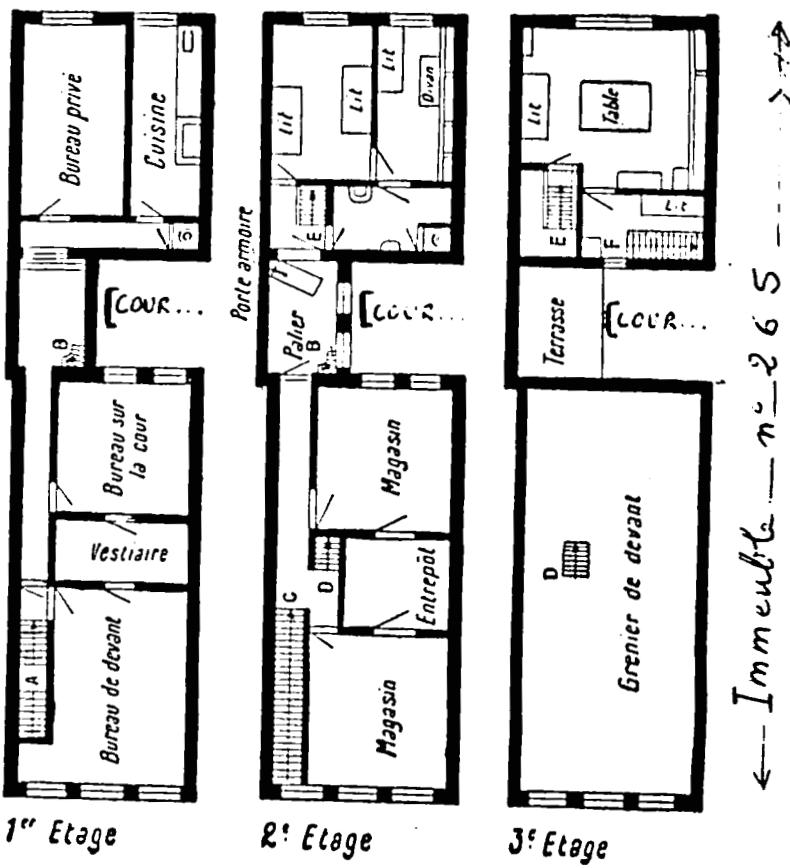
Photo no. 3

A photo of the 263 Prinsengracht Anne Frank house in 1940 (facade looking out on the canal; at left no. 261 and at the right, no. 265). A five story "house of windows" (without shutters).

Photo no. 4

The plan of 263 Prinsengracht Street (1942-1944) that Mr. Frank presents to his readers. It lacks a ground floor plan as well as any indication that the space which separates the front house from the annex is a small courtyard, 3.7 meters in size, common to that house and to the house on the right.

The eight persons lived in hiding in the annex. The four Franks and Dussel on the second floor, the three Van Daans on the third. On the second floor, the door/cupboard on the landing connected the house with the annex. This plan, to which I've added, appears in all the editions of the Diary. It does not seem really to scale: the facade of the building is approx. 8 meters wide and the court only 3.7 meters. To have a view of the whole, put the three levels indicated here on top of one another and add to them, at the first level, a ground floor, and at the fifth level, some mansarded attics to which stairways D and F respectively lead.





1. OPEN



2. CLOSED

Photo no 5.

The swinging cupboard (reconstruction) at the end of the corridor on the second floor, access to the annex coming from the front house. The photo from this post card should be compared with my Photo no. 8 which reveals that the window looks out on the small courtyard and that, through the glass of that window one sees, some inches away, the body of the annex building. It would have been enough for the police to have been there in order to see that there was an annex.



Photo no. 6

The little room of Anne Frank and the dentist Dussel. One could easily have seen into the neighboring homes on Keizergracht Street and visa versa. Note that the window is opened from the inside toward the outside.

Five revealing photos. The neighbors on the right (265 Prinsengracht) could have easily seen and heard what took place at 263 Prinsengracht. Photos 9 and 10 prove that they had seven openings that looked out on no. 263.

Photo no. 7

1. You are on the second floor at one of the two windows of the store looking out on the court. Note to the left of the downpipe the second window of the famous corridor and, at its right, the wall of the "annex."

Photo no. 8

2. You are in the corridor. Note, at your left, the swinging cupboard in the open position and, at the right, through the window, the wall of the "Annex."

Photo no. 9

3. You are on the third floor on the connecting terrace between the "annex" and the "front house": a) the first gable on the court (at your right) belongs to the front of the Anne Frank house; the other is that of the neighboring house (no. 255); b) from the same position but looking steeply down on the courtyard, you note six openings: the first, at your right, belongs to the Anne Frank house and the five others to the neighboring house (no. 265); c) advancing on the terrace you note above you the bell tower of the Westerkerk as well as the "Anne Frank Home" (recent construction).





Photo no. 10 (3b)



Photo no. 11 (3c)

ter what Mr. Frank says! "annex" could not have gone unnoticed, and the "annex," itself even less, no matter what the chimney on the left ("365 days of the year"), etc. The inhabitants of the pieces of cloth, "of all different shapes, quality and colour," etc., the smoke escaping from the garden offers good access to the Anne Frank House and Keizersgracht. The space has always been common to 263 Prinsengracht and 190 Keizersgracht. The neighbors could easily see the openings and closings of the curtains (made of

Photo no. 12



Photos n° 13 et n° 14

Deux spécimens de l'écriture
attribuée à Anne Frank

Ik zal hoop ik kan jou alles kunnen
heroverbrengen, zoals ik het nog een
miljoen gekund heb, en ik hoop dat
je een grote stem van me zult krijgen.
Anne Frank. 12 June 1942.

Photo n° 13

Dit is een foto, zoals
ik me zou wensen,
altijd zo te zijn.
Van' had ik nog wel
een kans om naar
Hollywood te kunnen.

Anne Frank

mag - novum photo Roger-Viollet

10 Oct 1942

Photos nos. 13 and 14

Two examples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank. If one can believe these dates, these two texts were written four months apart. One can compare separately both the texts themselves and their signatures. The first document is the facsimile of the epigraph of the Diary (Journal de Anne Frank), translated from the Dutch by Tylia Caren and Suzanne Lombard, Calman-Levy, 1950. The second is the facsimile of a text written by Anne Frank on the back of one of her photographs (Journal de Anne Frank), Livre de Poche, D.L. The "adult" handwriting is about four months prior to the "childish" printing!

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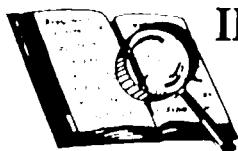
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Romanians and the Holocaust

Dr. SERBAN C. ANDRONESCU

(Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference)

In the last decade, various stories appeared in books and newspapers relating to the Holocaust in Romania. The authors of these stories pretended that Romanians killed almost half a million Jews in WW II; they arrived at this figure in an awkward manner.

Firstly, long before this campaign, in 1957, two scholars, one Romanian and the other Jew, met together and published a paper on this subject in Rome, Italy, in which the figure was 15,000, but not of Jews exterminated by the Romanians; it related to the Jewish casualties in Romania, which makes a big difference. The title of the paper was *Regional Development of the Jewish Population in Romania* and the authors were Dr. Sabin Manuila, formerly General Director of the Institute for Statistics of Romania and Dr. W. Filderman, formerly President of the Jewish Community of Romania. In other words, one was a high level specialist in the very field of statistics and census, the other was the head of the minority that pretends today the above stated extermination. Furthermore, both authors had qualifications beyond the level stated above. Manuila was a Corresponding Member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences and a Fellow of the International Institute of Statistics. Filderman was a Rabbi, former Member of the Romanian Parliament, and President of the "Joint Distribution Committee" for Romania. In other words, both were intellectuals of a higher standard and knowledgeable, by their professions, in the development of the population in Romania. However, despite their scholarship, the figure set after

their research work (15,000), was fully stretched in Jewish favor. I shall call this figure Stage I of denigration. They listed the largest figure mentioned in the statistical reports they made use of; for instance, if two reports came from the same village, one informing of 10 casualties and the other of 15, the researchers listed the largest figure, 15. Therefore, the real number of Jews who died in Romania in the war was between 10,000 and 15,000. Anyhow, after the publication of that paper, the two parties were more or less content with that figure, then they forgot about those tragic events, went back to their usual work, and the situation remained calm during almost 20 years.

Then, suddenly, in the mid 70's, the figure rose abruptly to Stage II of denigration: 250,000 killings. Before long it rose again to Stage III: 300,000 killings, and arrived lately to Stage IV: 450,000 Jews killed by Romanians in WW II!

It should be stressed that these new figures have been published by Zionists alone, without any contribution or investigation underwritten by the Romanians. While the documentation for Stage I is available to any researcher and can be checked for accuracy at any time, the figures relating to Stages II, III, and IV, had been set up without any official documentation. If some new evidence to support a figure other than 15,000 had been found somewhere, this new evidence would have been published in some official journal under the aegis of both parties, but nothing of this kind was published by an authorized or specialized organization. In other words, it seems that the authors of the last three stages of denigration have changed the number of the dead by simply crossing out one figure and replacing it with another. According to this method, even the last figure of 450,000 can be changed at any time.

As a former Romanian, I was shocked when I first became aware of the second stage of denigration. This was in the 70's and since then I have looked for whatever proofs they might have gotten. I found nothing but memories of old people, recollections of tragic war events, and declarations made in general terms which, under no circumstances, could be considered as documents in support of such a grave and precise accusation as the one charging the Romanians with the killing of 450,000 Jews.

My secretary was in touch with Dr. Jean Ancel of Yad Vashem Archives. Mr. Ancel became a doctor with a dissertation on this very subject, *The Romanian Jewry*, in which he ranges himself in the Stage III of denigration. The university which conferred to him a doctoral degree for such a dissertation was the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. My secretary sent Dr. Ancel three letters asking for an abstract of his dissertation and also for any available proof in support of his version of the events. The letters were sent to no avail. Dr. Ancel answered only one letter saying that

his figures are only approximate. However, Dr. Ancel is one of the specialists in the field of Romanian Jewry who can understand the importance of a proof when making such a grave statement. He refused to give any proof of his statements.

With the others who are much under Ancel's level of education, it is useless to start any discussion because they become excited after the first question. In general, they consider that they and they alone possess the truth. Whatever view does not conform to their views is by definition a lie, immoral, anti-Semite, racist, and neo-Nazi. When these people write about those events, their writings are so full of vague and general statements that it is almost impossible for the concerned reader not to suspect them of posing as victims.

Here is an example. Ms. Juliana Geran Pilon is a Jew born in Romania. She wrote a book, *Notes from the Other Side of the Night*, (South Bend, IN.: Regnery Gateway, 1979) in which she states (page 125) that "nearly 300,000 Jews had been killed in Romania before the Germans even got there!" When the Germans got there, Ms. Pilon says further, they killed 150,000 more. Now, in order to understand the absurdity of such an allegation I should bring back to mind what happened in Romania in 1940, the year when the Germans came.

In recalling the history of those days I will use some data from a book written by an outstanding Zionist scholar, Professor Lucy Dawidowicz of Yeshiva University, NY. In her book, *The War Against Jews*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975) Ms. Dawidowicz declares that there were 750,000 Jews in pre-war Romania, of which 300,000 lived in Bessarabia and 150,000 in Northern Transylvania. These two provinces Bessarabia and Northern Transylvania, had been lost by Romania in August 1940 under the pro-Jewish regime of King Carol II, when organized killing of Jews was impossible. The loss of the national territory put a shameful end to the corrupt regime of King Carol who was obliged to abdicate. He was chased from Romania together with his Jewish lover, Ms. Magda Wolf-Lupescu, his mentor and counsellor. In September 1940, King Carol's pro-Jewish regime was replaced with the nationalist regime of General Antonescu and in November 1940 the German troops entered Romania. This is the period referred to by Ms. Pilon when she writes that Romanians and Germans killed altogether 450,000 Jews. This could only happen under Antonescu, not, of course, under Carol.

Now, by simple subtraction, if we deduct 450,000 (300,000 Jews of Bessarabia plus 150,000 of Northern Transylvania) from the total Jewish population of about 750,000, we can see that nationalist Romania (i.e. Romania from 1940 to the end of the war, 1944) had only 300,000 Jews. It was therefore impossible for the Germans and Romanians to kill 450,000 Jews out of 300,000.

But there is more than that in Ms. Pilon's story.

First, let's see how Romanians could kill 300,000 Jews before the Germans even got there, as Ms. Pilon proclaims. Under King Carol it was impossible to organize any action against the Jews simply because they were at the control of the administration through Ms. Magda Wolf-Lupescu, the king's lover. She had complete dominion over the king because of some unique sexual peculiarities, the description of which would be unfit for this report. In fact, she was the uncrowned queen of Romania and nothing could take place in that country without her permission. In proof of this fact was the wild crushing of a Christian and nationalist movement (the Iron Guard) in 1938, when several thousand youngsters and students had been killed without trial or judicial procedures simply because they rose against the Jewish influence, the corruption, the decay, and the abuses perpetrated in those days in that country. The mass murder of Jews would have only been possible under the nationalist regime of General Antonescu which took over in Romania in September 1940. According to Ms. Pilon, the Romanians killed 300,000 Jews "before the Germans even got there," i.e. between September 1940 (advent of the nationalist regime) and November 1940 (German troops enter Romania), that is, in two months. Now, could this be possible? Can one kill 300,000 people and then evaporate the corpses? Of course, not. One has to put the corpses somewhere. One has to dig a grave for them and a grave of this size cannot remain hidden forever. No grave of this size or smaller has yet been discovered in Romania. There are hundreds of Jewish cemeteries in Romania, but all are standard cemeteries, the people buried there died of natural or accidental death.

In contrast, there are thousands of cemeteries of Romanian war heroes. There is even an American hero cemetery near Bucharest, on the same spot with a British hero cemetery. There are thousands of such graves all over Europe, from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Mediterranean, and from the Atlantic Ocean to Stalingrad. In Poland, it is impossible to cross one single district without coming upon a cemetery of Polish heroes. There are cemeteries of Jews, too, and even monuments. There are no such monuments or mausoleums for Jews in Romania, although Romania is the only communist country that has diplomatic relations with Israel. Moreover, Romania depends on the pro-Zionist votes of many American senators to get the Most Favored Nation clause. It would have been very easy for those influential American senators to cause President Ceausescu to erect a Jewish monument in Romania. However, neither American senators, nor Israelis have asked thus far for the erection of such a monument. The rationale? The Jews died in Romania because of various casualties inherent to any war, but not because of atrocities.

When 15,000 Polish officers and soldiers were killed at Katyn, the killers dug a huge grave and put the corpses there. If you went there at the time when the place was open for the public you could see the material proofs of what happened. You could see bones and skeletons and pieces of Polish uniforms and shoes and letters and photographs (damaged by the humidity of the soil) which were found in the pockets of the uniforms and even the bullets used in those killings. It had been impossible to hide 15,000 corpses; it had not been a matter of 15,000 matches or 15,000 pebbles; it had been a matter of 15,000 human bodies whose traces remain year after year after year. How could Romanians kill 300,000 Jews without leaving a trace? How could they hide almost half a million corpses, 30 times more than those of Katyn? Who can believe that Rabbi Dr. W. Filderman, the leader of Romanian Jews in WW II, was so indifferent as to leave unexplored a mass murder of such proportion if the least suspicion ever existed? He was far from being indifferent. He simply never even considered the possibility of a mass murder of Jews in Romania and therefore, being an honest Romanian Jew, signed a paper in which he put the largest number of dead at 15,000.

But let's analyze the second part of Ms. Pilon's assertion, that the Germans killed 150,000 Jews after they entered Romania. This again was impossible simply because at the end of the war the number of the Jews was as high as at the beginning of the war, i.e. in round figures about 300,000. This figure included the natural increase of the Jewish population during the war and of course did not comprise the dead from war casualties and those who emigrated clandestinely.

There were still two possibilities of killing Romanian Jews, one in Bessarabia (occupied by the Soviet Union) and the other in Northern Transylvania (occupied by the Hungarians). Neither one actually happened.

When the Romanian Troops entered Bessarabia in 1941 and reconquered that territory, very few Jews were found there. The majority had been either evacuated by the Soviets or had left by themselves in fear of reprisals. Many Jews had a criminal attitude toward the Romanians in retreat in 1940 when Bessarabia was ceded to Russia; they had gathered in armed bands and killed or disarmed many Romanian soldiers who had orders to retire without shooting. Therefore, in 1941, when the Romanians reconquered that territory, the Jews had already left in fear of reprisals.

As for the Jews of Northern Transylvania (occupied by Hungary) they had been put in camps by the Hungarians and very few returned after the war.

From the 300,000 Jews who were still in Romania after the war, about 130,000 emigrated to Israel (see the *Statistical Bulletin of Israel*, vol. 3, 1952-53) and about 140,000 to Western Europe and

USA. There are still between 35,000 and 50,000 Jews in Romania today.

This is what remains, after analysis, of Ms. Pilon's imaginary charges. She is, however, considered a scholar in the U.S.A. and an expert in interpreting historical events. She has been recently promoted to the post of Assistant to Mr. Burton Pines, the Director of the United Nations Assessment Project, sponsored by the Heritage Foundation of Washington, DC. The purpose of this project is to condemn the United Nations Organization. When this organization was dominated by the Zionists, it was a good organization; but today, after the expulsion of Israel from the U.N.'s International Labor Organization and the condemnation of Israel for her attitude toward Arabs, U.N.O. is a bad organization and should be dissolved.

The suspicion of mass murders in Romania never existed before the 70's. All the humbug started in the 70's with articles in newspapers and books charging Romanians with the extermination of the Romanian Jewish population, but it was too late in the 70's, 30 years after the end of the war, to organize extermination camps in Romania in proof of mass murders. First, there appeared various attacks in small newspapers charging Romania with the killing of 250,000 Jews. Nobody protested. And then a big article was published by the New York Post, a newspaper of large circulation. A map was distributed by the Anti-Defamation League and the number of the alleged killings rose instantly to 300,000. The article and the map were given out in millions of copies. The map was published on the front page of a pamphlet and showed Europe and her different countries, each one with the amount of Jewish victims. Printed over Germany the accusation figure was 210,000. Over Romania, the figure was 300,000. Always on that map only the Jews were shown as victims. The text accompanying the map read clearly: 6,000,000 Jewish victims in total. No other victims.

However, if one took the time to add up the figures printed on that map, they would have arrived at a total of less than 6,000,000. It was therefore necessary to find somewhere another 150,000 victims to match the total of six million. The missing amount of victims was attributed to Romania. So there appeared the Stage IV of denigration, charging Romania with the killing of 450,000 Jews.

Another newspaper of large circulation, the Spectator of London, published the new figure in 1979. L'Express of Paris, a magazine of even larger circulation, published the same figure. This was because all these major newspapers of the United States, England and France were independent and arrived at the same precise conclusion, 450,000 victims, by mere coincidence.

Meanwhile, a spurious campaign against the Romanian Bishop

of the U.S.A., Valerian D. Trifa, began with much noise and excitement and was conducted by Representative Elizabeth Holtzman, a Democrat of Brooklyn. Howard Blum, who was at that time on the staff of the pro-Zionist newspapers Village Voice and New York Times, edited a book aggressively titled *Wanted: In Search of Nazis in America*, charging Romania with the same figure. Many radio and TV programs were aired at about the same time whose slogan was more or less the same: Romanians murdered 450,000 Jews.

Now, you are entitled to ask—why this sudden campaign against Romania after 30 years of silence? The missing 150,000 from the worldwide publicized figure of 6 million did not justify such a virulent campaign. There must have been some other reason, perhaps monetary. This possibility deserves some attention.

Since the inauguration of the state of Israel in 1948, the German tax-payer has contributed to the welfare of Israel with an expiatory payment of about two billion dollars annually. In the last 30 years, the German contribution has amounted to over 60 billion dollars. During this same period the American taxpayer has contributed with friendly loans and endowments to Israel of a similar or bigger amount. Now, after 30 years of payments to Israel, expiatory or friendly, of about 4 billion dollars yearly, the taxpayer may get suspicious—mainly when we Americans cannot find funds for stringent national or local needs. In New York, for instance, the subway is a mess; the westside highway is closed because of its many potholes; public schools are a mockery because there are no funds to invest in education, and thousands of New Yorkers are living in incredible conditions because the rent in New York is so high. However, there are always some billions to be sent to Israel for various purposes. But if the American taxpayer becomes aware of these many expenditures abroad, he may ask them to be stopped. It is therefore necessary for the Zionists to find new sources of incoming dollars or at least to preserve the existing ones. A denigration campaign against all European countries could very well serve this purpose; thus Romania was included in the campaign. One never can tell just how and when this inclusion has become fruitful.

It is true that many Jews were killed in Romania in the war; but also many Romanians, and Americans, and Germans, and Russians were killed in Romania at that time, as well as many other peoples. As we all know, what characterizes a war is cruelty and killing; killing not only by weapons, but by diseases too; by hunger, or simply by accidents. Soldiers and civilians, women and children, elders and youngsters, are killed in any war for many, many reasons, good or bad. Would it be fair if I made the chronicle of the war and complained of the tragic fate of one group only?

Let me put things an other way. I saw piles of corpses in that war. I saw a street full of corpses; various parts of bodies were spread over that street after a bombardment—feet, heads, hands and blood. I remember a pile of broken feet and arms on a sidewalk, a horrible pile. Who could tell what part belonged to whom in that pile? Who could tell what foot was Jewish, what arm Romanian, and what part of a body German? Nobody. But it would be an impiety to proclaim today that all those killed on that street were all Romanians and complain of the tragic fate of Romanians only.

Moreover, if I recall those times, what difference does it make whether 10,000 Russians were killed in an airstrike in Kiev, a city of Ukraine, or 10,000 Jews were killed in Transnistria because of typhus or hunger? What is the difference between 100,000 Germans killed at Stalingrad because of the freezing winter and hunger and 1,000 Russian Jews hanged in Odessa as guerillas? What difference is there between several hundreds of thousands of Romanian soldiers killed in Russia in the war and several thousands of Jews killed in Iasi, a city of Romania, because they shot to death Romanian soldiers? War is a madness in itself because the intelligent people of both sides cannot find other ways to settle their disputes. However, when the war and its horrors arrive at an end, a peace treaty is signed, debts are payed, borders are changed, and then we forget about it. Otherwise we would never finish a war. Not so with the Zionists. After 30 years they start another war—a war of words, and libels, and revenge, implying the Jews were the sole victims of the last war.

The social life in prewar Romania under the pro-Jewish regime of King Carol was much like the social life in this country, almost the same decay. Pornography, adultery, blasphemy and all kinds of wicked attacks against Christianity were flourishing all over Romania. It happened that the two most influential newspapers, Adeverul and Dimineata, were under Jewish management and were the advocates of communism, the agents of demoralization among the youth, and the most powerful fighters against nationalism. Many Jews were law-abiding citizens, but it happened that the mistress of the king was a beautiful but vicious Jewish woman, Magda Wolf-Lupescu. Many political killings were perpetrated in Romania because of her bad influence upon the king. Of course, she never signed the actual order to kill, but the fact was that all nationalist activities and mainly those directed against the social decay, against the literature of filth, and against the stong Jewish influence in politics were prohibited and even punished. A youth movement against atheists, pornographers, and corrupt politicians emerged (called the Iron Guard) and it wanted to defend

national values against the intruders and the agents of deception. In fact, the Iron Guard was fighting against all the agents of decay, whoever they might be. Many Jews were decent citizens and contributed to the advancement of culture, but some were the agents of decay; so, those students who fought against the latter were believed to fight against all Jews and the press ostracized them.

Some students who belonged to the Iron Guard in Iasi decided to build a student home, a Christian house for themselves, apart from the atheist student homes which existed at that time in Iași. Well, the police of Iasi received the order to stop the building and all the Zionist newspapers began a vicious campaign against the Christian students. The charge was the same as today in this country: "they wanted to destroy the pluralism of Romania, they threatened to kill those who disagreed with their authoritarian position, they wanted to deny values in the name of Christianity, they were racists and assumed the right to divide the country in the name of patriotism."

In the opinion of many at that time, the Christian students had the same right to build their Christian house as the other students to have profane homes. However, the government was of another opinion. The government decided the students did not have that right and the chief of the police was sent on the spot to stop the building and disperse the students. Many students were harrassed, some were arrested and some were summoned to court for the crime of trying to build a Christian home.

It was like today in this country: if some youngsters adhere to a Christian movement, they are considered sick, they must be deprogrammed and bills are sent to the legislators to curb them. Prayer is outlawed from schools and replaced with sex education. Christmas carols are considered disturbing by certain minorities. In contrast, the use of drugs, pornography and incest, sodomy and atheism, are presented by the influential mass media as acceptable standards of our culture, and all deceiving movements are free to spread in universities. Why? Because a depraved youth can be easily manœuvred. Depraved students today mean depraved leaders tomorrow; thus, a better opportunity for those who pull the strings today to take over tomorrow.

The same situation was in Romania and the agents who provoked that vicious situation in prewar Romania were the same as here. The students who wanted to stop the decay in Romania were sent to Court, the walls of their homes demolished, their families harassed—the newspapers cursed them. Many of those innocent students were barred from universities, sent to jail and their lives were spoiled forever. Years later, when the pro-Jewish regime of King Carol was replaced with a nationalist one, the students took revenge on those who spoiled their lives and killed

them.

I do not approve of their actions even if I understand why they lost their heads and killed. My religion and theirs does not approve any murder, even if it is done in revenge. Were the students guilty of the killings? Of course, they were; but, at the same time, those who persecuted them were guilty as well.

However, the chroniclers of those events speak of the guilt of the students only, making the reader believe the persecutors were not guilty, and the same events take place in almost the same way in our days as half a century ago in Romania. There is nonsense in concealing the real meaning of the social movements and prevent people from drawing conclusions. History repeats itself whether we like it or not. This is in essence a very broad description of some thousand killings perpetrated in Romania in 1940-41. Other killings were due to other causes.

I was a high school student at that time. My father was a lawyer, and in 1941 he had to go to Iasi for some legal affairs. He took me with him to show me the city. It was a city of importance in Romanian history and a visit there was considered part of a boy's education. It was soon after the beginning of the hostilities between Romania and communist Russia. We took a room at a hotel in Iasi. I remember very well that on the street facing the window of our room there marched long columns of soldiers, carts with horses, trucks with military equipment going to the war front. The street was narrow and the columns very long. It was soon after sunset. My father and I were preparing for dinner when suddenly we heard explosions down in the street. We went cautiously to the window and looked outside. We saw people in the building across the street shooting at the soldiers; some others were throwing grenades from the roof. It was a crazy act in those days and what happened then was hell. An officer ordered the march to stop and the soldiers to surround the block. In a short while, the whole block was in flames and under the fire of submachine guns. Then the march resumed and continued through midnight. We learned that those who fired at the soldiers from the other building were Romanian Jews acting as communist guerillas. Several hundred people were killed that evening, Romanian soldiers as well as Jewish guerillas, together with innocent people who lived in that block. Who was guilty of those killings? We were at war and there was no time to sit down and decide who was and who was not guilty.

Something similar happened a few months ago, in July 1981, when Israeli planes killed 300 people in Beirut; among those killed were a few PLO guerrillas, but the majority were civilians. Similar things happened several times in Iasi in those days of war when the Romanian Jews decided not to allow the Romanian army to go against their beloved Soviet Union. They were Romanian

citizens, but many were communist first and then Romanian.

When my father finished his work in Iasi, we tried to go back to Bucharest, but we couldn't because the railway station had been bombed. In that bombing many people were killed, Romanians as well as Jews. Should I say that the pilot who dropped the bombs was anti-Semitic because he killed some Jews?

We stayed in Iasi several days until the station was fixed. During our sojourn there we learned of some other events. Jewish groups had organized underground communist cell structures, accumulated weapons and ammunition, fought as guerillas, and attacked the army of their country, Romania. They fought against the Romanian army not only in Iasi, but in many other cities. If reprisals were initiated against them, were the Romanians guilty?

A quarter of the city of Iasi was Jewish and the Jews lived in an area called "the Ghetto." They installed red electric bulbs in the chimneys of their houses, thus signaling to Russian planes when the blackout was on. From the street, the red light of the bulbs was invisible, but it was perfectly visible from above. So, when Soviet planes came at night, they knew where the city was and what area of the city to bomb. The Ghetto was never bombed, a miraculous thing until the police discovered the trick. Reprisals against the Jews were carried out again, and the question again arises: were the Romanian police guilty of the reprisals?

Dr. W. Filderman mentions in his *Memoirs* a letter dated 18 September 1940 (a few weeks after the nationalist regime took over in Bucharest) from General Antonescu in which the chief of state wrote: ". . . be assured, Mr. Filderman, (. . .) that, if your co-religionists will not sabotage openly or furtively my regime on political or economic grounds, the Jewish population will have nothing to suffer (. . .). But the Jews—and I call your attention seriously to this matter without threatening you—the Jews must give up the methods they've used thus far (because this was the way of the former regime) of keeping down our economy, sapping our national identity, and exploiting our poverty."

It was a dialogue between the chief of state and the president of the Jewish communities soon after the inauguration of the nationalist regime in which the chief of state expressed his willingness to help the Jews, under the circumstances, and asked the Jews to hold back from any acts of sabotage and diversion in order to avoid restrictive measures against them. However, the instructions to sabotage, spy, and divert came from far above Dr. Filderman's sphere: moreover, not all the Jews who populated Romania at that time were under Dr. Filderman's authority. The confrontation in World War II was of such a high level that the lives of some thousands of Jews and Romanians did not count. As a consequence, the Jews spied and the administration deported

them to Transnistria. There were no hospitals there, food was scarce, the cities were in ruins, and many Jews who had been deported there died of different diseases and perhaps of hunger, much like today's Arabs who are chased into the desert from Palestine. The Russians who lived in Transnistria had the same fate, but I cannot confirm that they died because of Romanian anti-Russianism. Food and medicine were scarce everywhere in those days. Tens of thousands of Germans died at Stalingrad because of hunger and frost. In Bucharest we had no food, no gas, no medicine, and the casualties were numerous. All minorities as well as Romanians themselves suffered heavy casualties. We all took the situation as it was and buried the dead, even the Jews. However, after several decades, only the Jews recollect those events and complain to the world for their sufferings.

General Antonescu not only maintained a dialogue with the Jewish community, he even dismissed his Secretary of Cults, who closed some synagogues. This fact is also mentioned in Dr. Filderman's *Memoirs*. However, General Antonescu was labeled an anti-Semite and executed after the war.

Many feel happy to label Romanians as anti-Semites. Ms. Nicolette Frank, for instance, a Swiss newspaperwoman who was born in Romania as Nicolette Apotecker, edited a book in French, in 1977, *La Roumanie dans l'engrenage* (Romania in the Gearing). To the ordinary libel against her former country, Ms. Frank adds another which has the double advantage of striking at Romanians as well as at Christianity: she says that the Romanian Orthodox Church is the ferment of nationalism and anti-Semitism in Romania. However, she has the decency to mention something true: Adolph Eichman complained at one time of his difficulties in Romania because of General Antonescu's independent policies. Acting upon their own lines is indeed characteristic of Romanians and explains why their alliances have always been limited to needs. Hitler's Germany was very powerful in WW II. However, General Antonescu did not accept German interference in Romanian affairs. Today the Zionists are very powerful too, but few Romanians can accept their libel. One of these libels is that Romanians imitated Hitler's policies. In fact, Romanians curbed Jewish activities during the war not to imitate German policies, but because the Jews were more communist than Romanian at a time when Romania was at war with the Soviet Union.

To curb the Jews, Romania did the same thing that the United States did against her Japanese: she put them in camps. While in camps, the Jews had to work. In winter, they had to shovel the snow off of the streets. Sometimes they were sent to clean

buildings or to remove debris. At night, they went home and stayed with their families until the next day. Our bread, meat butter and coffee were rationed. The Jews had no ration cards, so they organized their own food system using the free and black markets. They had to pay higher prices for food, it was true, but it was to their advantage: it was better to live that way than to die on the war front. They thus saved their lives at a time when hundreds of thousands of Romanians lost their lives in Russia.

As I mentioned before, I was a high school boy at the beginning of the war. One day, the boulevard in front of my school was full of Jews who shoveled the snow away. It was cold and they had slight mounds of warming thermosvos. Many shops on that boulevard were closed and those which were open were almost empty of food. But soon some wives and girls came over with thermos flasks of hot coffee, tea and snacks and nobody prevented them from distributing the food among the workers. They stopped their work, ate and drank, and then began their work again. When I finished my school that day and went home, there were no Jews on that boulevard; they went home, too. This was a so-called labor camp for Jews that I saw with my own eyes.

There were probably other camps where the work was harsher, but the Zionists speak today about the latter only, and never about the former. This is why their complaints appear doubtful to the concerned reader. If they were sincere, they would mention all aspects of their tribulations, good or bad, not only those which can be bargained for dollars.

About the Contributors

Dr. ROBERT FAURISSON was born at Shepperton, near London, in 1929, to a French father and a Scottish mother. He was educated in Singapore, Japan, Marseille, and in Paris at the Sorbonne, where he received his doctorate in 1972. After a short spell teaching at the Sorbonne, Professor Faurisson became Associate Professor in French Literature at the University of Lyon-2 in central France. He specializes in the appraisal and evaluation of texts and documents.

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Dr. MARTIN A. LARSON was born in Whitehall, Michigan in 1897 and received his Ph.D. at the University of Michigan in 1927. All his life Dr. Larson has taken a keen interest in comparative religions, taxation and the monetary system. As recently as 1980 he published *The Essene Christian Faith*, one of over 20 published books he has to his credit. He makes his home with his wife in Arizona.

The Journal of Historical Review

This Issue:

Percy L. Greaves, Jr.

Three 'Day of Infamy' Assessments

Dr. Arthur R. Butz

The Faurisson Affair—II

Dr. James J. Martin

Charles A. Beard: A Tribute

Issah Nakhleh

Memorandum to the President

Thomas Henry Irwin

Thomas E. Watson Revisited

—plus—

Inside Story of the Hess Flight

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Contents

Correspondence	229
Charles A. Beard: A Tribute <i>Dr. James J. Martin</i>	239
Memorandum to the President <i>Issah Nakhleh</i>	259
The Inside Story of the Hess Flight <i>Mark Weber</i>	291
Thomas E. Watson Revisited <i>Thomas Henry Irwin</i>	301
Three Assessments of the Infamy of 7 December 1941 <i>Percy L. Greaves, Jr.</i>	319
The Faurisson Affair—II <i>Dr. Arthur R. Butz</i>	341
About the Contributors	352

From the Editor

THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY last year of the Pearl Harbor disaster saw the publication within a short span of time of no less than three substantial books all claiming to shed important new light on the subject. Only one of them really did—John Toland's *Infamy*. Percy L. Greaves, Jr.—an authority who knows probably more than any other alive what really brought on the attack and subsequent cover-up of the facts—reviews in this issue the three books, lending his expertise to the resolution of a controversy in which revisionism has clearly emerged the winner.

It appears the "Faurisson Affair" is still not over, at least according to Arthur R. Butz. In this issue Dr. Butz reviews two relatively new French publications that appraise Professor Faurisson's past and possibly future trials from a refreshing perspective: in support for the man who dared announce publicly that "The alleged gassings and the alleged Jewish genocide are only one and the same historical lie . . . "

Next we have Dr. James J. Martin's amicable tribute to the most widely read and ultimately valuable revisionist historian this century has known: Charles Austin Beard.

Golda Meier once remarked in response to a direct question: "What Palestinians?" And others of her peculiar frame of mind still strive for total obfuscation despite the fact that many thousands fewer Palestinians are alive today than were three months ago. Issah Nakhleh, a long time Palestinian diplomat, gives us the advantage of his years of experience with Palestine, its indigenous peoples and the roots of the current holocaust being leveled against them.

The name of the late Senator from Georgia, Tom Watson, has been sullied by just about every scrap of slanderous garbage the ubiquitous "Anti"-Defamation League has been able to sling since his death in 1922. Thus "The Sage of Hickory Hill" has become immensely interesting. Thomas Henry Irwin has spent years studying the Watson phenomenon, and here reveals some of the essence of a man whose political and cultural designs consistently included two of the more elusive qualities of popular statecraft: Honesty and Wisdom.

A now almost forgotten article appeared in a 1943 issue of *The American Mercury* which shed considerable light on the historic Rudolf Hess peace flight. Mark Weber re-introduces that article here, pointing out a few salient features which perhaps earmarked it as unfit for public consumption once the post-war historical blackout was ordained and fully operative.

Finally, please join us in welcoming a new member to our Editorial Advisory Committee: George Ashley. Dr. Ashley, a history instructor in the Los Angeles public schools, reaped a whirlwind of local Zionist abuse last May when he answered a student's query by stating his conviction that "Accounts of Jewish deaths during the Holocaust are greatly exaggerated."



Correspondence

THE HOLOCAUST AND ITS RELIGIOUS ROOTS

It was good to read Dr. Charles Weber's article "The Six Million Thesis—*Cui Bono?*" in the Summer 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. Dr. Weber's article does well to point out some of the concrete, practical reasons for the propagation and perpetuation of the holocaust myth. Among these is the financial motive, the billions bilked from West Germany as "reparations," the billions raised from world Jewry as sympathy money, as a "moral obligation." Dr. Weber may be right in his contention that East-block countries join in perpetuating the myth because they wish to remind their oppressed populations that things might have been worse if the Nazis had won. I believe, however, that from the perspective of, and in the jargon of, the "socialist" countries, the West, i.e., the old Western Allies, now represent the "evils" of Fascism-Nazism. In the light of the long and deep-rooted anti-Semitic traditions of many Eastern European peoples, e.g. the Poles, the Russians, etc., it is unlikely that those peoples identify with the Jews. During World War II, German military authorities often had to intervene to protect Jews from the local population. It seems more plausible that East-block propaganda efforts are less geared toward building sympathy for the Jews as such, than to illustrating to what monstrous depths capitalist-Fascist-Nazism can descend, a "Nazi" imperialism which still threatens their countries.

Besides these tangible, concrete reasons, holocaustism and its ceaseless propagation also have religious roots. War, pestilence, famine, and death as personified in the Grim Reaper appealed to the Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque imagination. A common theme in music, painting, and literature was the Dance of Death, or Totentanz. Of course the sick fantasies of Jewish writers (and they are numerous, if not dominant) are engaged in elaborating new and more sensational aspects of holocaustism. Because such a steady diet of it has been prepared over the years, and because this death-diet continues to be served up relentlessly, it is not surprising that some non-Jewish imaginations have taken up holocaustism, which is essentially a nauseating, Jewish-directed updating and restaging of the old Dance of Death theme. Some non-Jewish authors have found it engaging or profitable to join in the Jewish-led Dance of Death. The real cost of the holocaust is the psychic damage inflicted on humanity, including the Jews themselves, by the sick fantasies of those who get their kicks from perpetuating the six million myth. Many Jews resent their holocaust, for them the holocaust, being upstaged by talk of Hiroshima or any impending nuclear holocaust (perhaps one that might result from that continuing struggle as to who shall own that "Holy" Land).

One consolation for the thoughtful non-Jew when exposed to the constant flood of pathological holocaust Dance of Death fantasies, including those dressed up as "semi-documentaries," is to remember that the Hindu deity Shiva, known as Lord of the Dance, cyclically swings back and forth between creation and destruction, between life and death. Right now the Jews are calling the cacophonous tune, giving the negative beat to a contemporary Dance of Death. But sooner than the Jews know it, the cyclic pendulum may swing back to a healthier, more positive and life-oriented attitude. Instead of peddling psychoses and sickness, writers and the media may again take up more invigorating, life-directed themes. Perhaps because harsh post-war economic realities did not permit it, perhaps because the media were supervised and censored by the Allies (and the Jews), Germans had neither the leisure nor the luxury of indulging in their own Dance of Death around the staggering destruction and appalling loss of life caused by the Allied armies and aerial bombardments. Instead the Germans picked up the pieces of a destruction which was very real and tangible, not faked and phony, and got on with the business of life. Other peoples would do well to emulate that example.

Another factor in the perpetuation of holocaustism is the profound religious and psychological need of Jews and Judaism to perpetuate their persecutions. Such tales are integrally woven into the texture and fabric of Jewish scripture and ritual. Any cursory (or lengthy) reading of the Old Testament will reveal that it is a record of the Jewish tribal God, Jehovah, constantly smiting and striking down the enemies of his chosen people.

In large measure, the Jewish religion is simply a record of the triumph of the children of Israel over their enemies. Triumphs, such as the one commemorated in the Feast of Passover, were achieved with the help of their tribal god. Egyptians visited by unspeakable plagues and afflictions, Haman in Persia hung on the gallows he destined for the Jews—the message is always the same. Millions of Germans grovelling in the ruins, and millions of Germans and others displaced and uprooted at the end of World War II are, to the Jews, merely modern counterparts of the Egyptians of old. Although it sometimes serves the Jewish imagination to resurrect Hitler in the Jungles of South America, in the Sahara, the Antarctic, or even in outer space, Hitler—dead in his gutted bunker—is, for the Jew, merely a modern Haman, another anti-Semite who tried to destroy the Jews but was himself destroyed. On the feast of Purim, Jews make a great din in the synagogue, loudly rattling and shouting when Haman's name is mentioned. They call it "making a megillah." Continuing holocaustism, in all its forms, (the written and spoken word, museums, monuments, study programs, etc.) may be said to be diverse forms and degrees of "*making a megillah*," with Hitler substituted for Haman. The Wailing Wall mentality, i.e. the necessity to lament loudly, publicly, stridently, is part of the essence of Judaism. Wailing about persecution and the subsequent brazen revelling in the triumph over it, are basic Jewish characteristics. Before the alleged "holocaust," the Jews were an international entity. They have since retained this identity and added a national identity the state called "Israel," a state which does much public holocaust wailing, and also exults openly in its repeated military tri-

umphs, despite the hostility of much of the world, as expressed in numerous U.N. resolutions which Israel ignores.

For the Jews, their solidarity and superiority are sealed and confirmed by triumph over enemies. This persecution, and the triumph over it, is essential to Jewish identity. Jewish leaders make no attempt to conceal their fear of assimilation. Ben-Gurion, and many rabbis, have pointed out that the great enemy of Judaism in America is not the pogrom, but the country club, i.e. the social acceptance and possible absorption of the Jews by their host population. Although Christianity, like Islam, may correctly be said to be a sect of Judaism, and Catholicism and Protestantism may be said to be sub-sects of that sect, most professional Jews are terrified of intermarriage with Gentiles. Even though neither the Jewish nor the Gentile partner may practice any religion in earnest, it is usually the Gentile partner who converts to Judaism, because the Jewish neurosis insists on preserving its existence as a chosen, elite group, surrounded by a horde of less favored individuals, to whom Jews are superior in every respect but numbers. To cement Jewish religious and ethnic identity, persecution and the triumph over it are essential. Therefore, many Jews today point out the necessity to kill 10, 20, or even 100 hostile, persecuting Arabs for every Jew killed.

This institutionalizing and ritualizing of persecution and triumph over it has, of course, been extended to the 20th century "holocaust." In synagogue vestibules today one is greeted by a Yad Vashem memorial, a kind of elaborate candelabrum commemorating the 6 million. It is the first and last thing a Jew sees when entering or leaving the synagogue. This contraption, this candelabrum, is of course a contemporary fabrication. But it has become as much an emblem of Judaism as the menorah, the symbolic candelabrum emblematic of the Hanukah holiday, which Jews style "The Feast of Lights." It might more appropriately be called the "Feast of Darkness," since it commemorates Jehovah's miraculous intervention on behalf of his people against Hellenist Greeks, to enable the Jews to retain their identity, their religion, i.e. the racial and religious psychosis called Judaism. It would truly have been a Feast of Lights if those Hellenist Greeks had won. Had they, the light of classical Greek civilization might not have been extinguished for so many centuries by the Jewish infection which spread to non-Jews, producing the Christian outgrowth still with us today.

Even Communist rulers have learned that the religious impulse in man is ineradicable, however brilliant the light of reason brought to bear on it. One of the more noble endeavors of Nazi Germany was the attempt to provide Germans with a workable religious alternative to that form of Judaism known as Christianity. Celtic, Germanic, Romanic, Slavic, and other peoples who abandoned their own religious identity for Christianity would do well to turn again to the more nature-oriented religion of their ancestors. Unfortunately, their own religious traditions were disturbed, interrupted, vitiated, diluted, destroyed or partially absorbed by Christianity. Just as the "sacrifice of the Mass" may be said to be an improvement on the animal and human sacrifices which preceded it, the still living but much vitiated traditions of pre-Christianity should be taken up again, refined, ennobled, elaborated, and developed. Many of the world's illusions and ills might thus be alleviated. Even that so-called

"Holy" Land might become truly holy, if Judaism and its two daughters, Christianity and Islam, were given up in favor of older, pantheistic religions which existed in the area before the naissance of that unholy trio of related religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In Ireland, Celts often still join battle in the name of two sub-sects of a sect of Judaism. One solution for Ireland's problems would be to abandon both the Catholic and Protestant form of Jewish-derived Christianity and to return to a re-structured, re-created form of earliest Celtic religions.

In Europe, Christianity moved into the power vacuum created by the collapse of the Roman Empire. Diocesan boundaries followed exactly the prior Roman administrative lines. Subsequently, many non-Christian or "pagan" peoples, such as the Saxons, were forcibly converted. Other tribes left for Iceland to escape forced Christianization, although they, too, were eventually converted. The best minds of Europe, however, minds like Goethe's and Victor Hugo's, freed themselves from the shackles of Christianity, while retaining a profoundly religious attitude (an amalgam of their own making) towards life. Religious expression, especially when organized, has often been irrational. Yet the religious spirit innate in man need not conflict with scientific inquiry. In fact, the scientific investigation along with the artistic creation, is religion, real religion. Perhaps the reason Christianity today needs a Bernstein to write its music and a Chagall to do its artwork is because it is an alien, assumed religion for many peoples who have lost their own indigenous religion.

Holocaustism, like Christianity and Islam, is a product of Judaism. When more people realize this, there will be hope for liberation from holocaustism and other religion-related evils.

George F. Corners II
New York City

BOOK COLLECTORS

Friends here in Milwaukee have been attempting to buy old reference books on the used market, the purpose being that they wish to help found a school library (private) in Necedah, Wisconsin.

As they go about from used bookstore to used bookstore, they find encyclopedia sets older than the 1960s with entire volumes missing: each time the same volumes—those dealing with the subject of Jews or Khazars. At these same bookstores they say that one cannot find an almanac old enough to deal with the Jewish population figures which might help shed light on the "Holocaust" allegation.

When they answer an advertisement in the local papers for used books of a historical or informational nature, they find that two or three young persons have already contacted the seller, and have literally made an offer which the seller was not able to refuse.

A month or so ago, on a local radio talk show, I made an argument against the "Holocaust" allegations using the figures from the 1938 *World Almanac* and the February 22, 1948 edition of the *New York Times*, among other materials. These friends of ours told me that the Zionists were out the very next day trying to sweep up any old editions of the *World Almanac* still about in the used bookstores.

Donald V. Clerkin
Milwaukee, Wis.

The Question of the Deaths of Rumanian Jews

An Exchange of Correspondence Between Mark Weber and Dr. Serban Andronescu

Dear Dr. Andronescu,

8 May 1982

I am very grateful for your letter of 15 January 1982. Please pardon this tardy reply.

As you suggested, I found the journal *Genus* in the Library of Congress which contained the report by Dr. Sabin Manuila and Dr. W. Filderman, "Regional development of the Jewish population in Romania." (*Genus* [Rome] Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-4 1957. pp. 153-165. LC# HB 881 .G4 1957.) I put off writing to you until I had obtained a copy of the article and had a chance to study it carefully.

During your presentation at the 1981 Institute for Historical Review Conference (published in *The JHR*, Summer 1982), you stated that the Manuila/Filderman report gave a figure of only 15,000 as the total number of Rumanian Jews who perished during the Second World War. This figure is actually only of Jews in the truncated Rumanian state and does not include the Jews of northern Transylvania (which was ceded to Hungary 1940-1945) or of the territory ceded 1940-1941 to the USSR (including Bessarabia). According to Manuila/Filderman, the total "decrease in the number of Jews" includes not only the 15,000 you mentioned, but 90,295 for northern Transylvania and 103,919 for the Soviet territories (including Bessarabia). The total number of Jewish losses for Rumania in its pre-1940 borders, according to Manuila/Filderman, is 209,214.

It is this figure, and not that of 15,000, which must be compared with the figures of Jewish "holocaust" victims for Rumania which are claimed by Jewish historians today.

In 1946, the American Jewish Congress estimated the number of Jewish victims for Rumania (pre-1940 borders) at 425,000. That same year, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine gave an estimate of 530,000, likewise for the pre-1940 border Rumania. Gerald Rietlinger in *The Final Solution* gives an estimate of 200,000 to 220,000 Jewish victims. Raul Hilberg in *The Destruction of the European Jews* estimates 270,000. In her book *The War Against the Jews*, Lucy Dawidowicz estimates 300,000. Of these various widely circulated "establishment" estimates, Reitlinger's is closest to that of Manuila/Filderman.

But this kind of comparison can be very misleading because several very important qualifications must be made to the figure of 209,214 given by Manuila/Filderman. This estimate is only for "decrease in the number of Jews" and includes not only Jews who were killed, but also those who simply died and, more importantly, those who emigrated or simply remained "missing." Although Manuila/Filderman do not discuss it, "missing" Jews would most likely also include those who hastily had

themselves baptized in order to avoid classification as Jews. (This was possible under Rumanian policy.) Hilberg (p.494) quotes a reliable German newspaper which reported in 1942 that 40,000 Jews in Bessarabia (one in every five) had "converted" to avoid deportation to Transnistria. More significantly, Filderman reports that no less than 100,000 Jews in the temporarily-Soviet territories (including Bessarabia) were evacuated or withdrew into the interior of the Soviet Union before the area was retaken by Rumanian-German forces in 1941. Manuila/Filderman report that 100,000 among their 209,214 estimate of "decrease in the number of Jews." Taking that into account, this reduces the number of Rumanian Jews who were killed or died to a maximum of 109,214.

But even this figure is too high. Manuila/Filderman claim that of an estimated 148,295 Jews who were living in northern Transylvania, 137,125 were "deported to Germany, to forced labor camps, with the exception of 14,000. There returned to Rumania a total of 44,000, which were found in various camps there (sic) at the end of the war. Hence there were altogether 58,000 survivors, and the rest of 90,295 "perished." At another point, though, Manuila/Filderman admit that the figure of 90,295 is really for "decrease by deaths and migration." That is, it includes Jews from northern Transylvania who survived the war and emigrated to Palestine, the United States, western Europe and so forth.

Even if we were to accept a rather high figure of approximately 100,000 as the maximum number of Rumanian Jews who perished, based on the Manuila/Filderman estimates, we still do not know how many of that number died unavoidably due to wartime conditions and how many were killed for whatever reasons.

Although certainly more reliable than most estimates of this kind, I believe that the Manuila/Filderman figures exaggerate Rumanian Jewish losses and must still be viewed with caution. For example, I believe that their estimate of 137,125 for the number of Jews deported from northern Transylvania to the German Reich is probably too high.

The important point, though, is that the Manuila/Filderman report proves that all of the standard estimates for the number of Rumanian Jewish "holocaust victims" are grossly irresponsible exaggerations. Even if we were to accept a figure of 100,000 deaths, which would be high according to the Manuila/Filderman report, this would still be anywhere from one-half to less than one-fifth of the number claimed by establishment Jewish historians.

I was impressed with the lengthy article you wrote for the publication "Romanian Communism." Thank you for sending it. As you point out, it is important to remember that what Lucy Dawidowicz calls "The War Against the Jews" ultimately ended in a victory for the self-chosen people.

It so happens that a former university colleague of mine now works for Radio Free Europe in Munich. He also commented on the important role played by the Jews at RFE.

I certainly look forward to meeting and talking with you again. There are a number of topics I'd like to discuss.

Best regards,
Mark Weber
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Weber:

15 May 1982

I have your letter of 8 May and am very surprised by what you write about the "Romanian" Jews. You are an important contributor to revisionist publications and it is important that you have an accurate view of what you call "Romanian" Jewry. I support revisionist activities too, and receive some of the publications. However, if I noticed in one of these publications such a view as that expressed in your letter, I would protest that view.

We—academic researchers—must differentiate between the Romanian administration over Romanian territories and the alien administration (Soviet, Hungarian, Bulgarian) over the same territories. I am referring here to the northern half of Transylvania, to Bessarabia and to the southern part of Dobrudja, all territories which were (and, in part, still are) under an alien administration. What you call "Romanian" Jewry became Hungarian Jewry, Soviet Jewry and Bulgarian Jewry as soon as these territories became Hungarian, Soviet, or Bulgarian in 1940. You should know that the Jews usually change their residence from one country to another. Their only true allegiance is to Israel.

Moreover, under no circumstances can you honestly make the Romanian administration responsible for what happened to the Jews who remained in those ceded territories. To make myself clear, here is an example. Take a Jew who was born in Oradea in 1920, under Romanian administration. He became a "Hungarian" Jew between 1940 and 1945 when Oradea was under Hungarian rule. Then he emigrated to France. If something happened to him in France, would you make the Hungarian or Romanian administrations responsible for what happened to him under the French rule? Of course not. This is a principle of International law and not of one's opinion. According to the same legal principle, if he committed a crime in France and then he fled to Hungary or Romania he cannot be punished for that crime by the Hungarian or Romanian laws: he must be extradited to France. You cannot even list him as a Romanian Jew because there is no law in Romania(as there is in the USA) to grant somebody Romanian citizenship on the basis of his birth only.

For your complete information I will tell you a true story. There lived in Oradea (a city of Transylvania) a very rich Jewish hotel-keeper who, like the majority of Jews, remained in Oradea after 1940. When the Hungarian regent, Admiral Horthy, triumphantly entered Oradea and took possession of that territory, the hotel-keeper decorated at his own expense the large avenue of the city, on which the admiral pompously paraded riding a beautiful silvery mare. Four years later, in June 1944, when the Hungarian police booked him for deportation, he vainly protested, invoking his loyalty to Hungary; he was taken from Oradea together with other Jews and never came back.

The Romanian administration of Bucharest was unable to care for those who remained in those territories, whether Romanians, Jews, or others. As a matter of fact, more Romanians than Jews died in those territories because of various acts of war, but nobody speaks about

them today. We, with our Christian background, prefer to forget about such ugly things. Many more Romanians were deported from Bessarabia by the Soviets and many Russians and Udrainians were brought in instead so as to give the impression that Bessarabia was not Romania. The same thing happened to the German population of Poland, mainly to those Germans who lived in Pomerania, around Danzig, but again nobody speaks about them today.

Sincerely,
Dr. Serban Andronescu
New York City

Dear Dr. Andronescu,

24 May 1982

Thank you for your letter of 15 May.

I'm very sorry that I did not make myself more clear in my letter to you of 8 May. It seems that the main misunderstanding is due to my use of the term "Rumanian Jews" to refer to Jews from within the pre-1940 Rumanian borders. Like Manuila and Filderman, as well as most other historians, I write "Rumanian Jews" simply as a term of convenience.

You state that only Jews under Rumanian administration should be counted as "Rumanian Jews." I understand your point of view. However, it is not unreasonable (for purposes of statistical comparison) to count as "Rumanian Jews" all Jews in pre-1940 Rumania, in much the same way that Jews in West Prussia, Upper Silesia, and so forth, are almost always counted today as "Polish Jews" even though these territories were integral parts of the German Reich during the Second World War. Should the Jews who lived in Warsaw during the Second World War be counted today as "Polish Jews" or "German Jews," considering the fact that the Polish state had ceased to exist and Warsaw was in a territory legally regarded as a "Nebenland" of the German Reich? Should Jews living in the Sudetenland during the war be counted today as "Czechoslovakian Jews" or "German Jews"?

Just as it is not unreasonable to count Jews in Upper Silesia as "Polish Jews" because the territory was part of Poland before and after the war, so also is it not unreasonable to count Jews in northern Transylvania as "Rumanian Jews" because the territory was likewise part of Rumania before and after the war.

Contrary to what you imply in your letter of 15 May, at no point in my letter of 8 May did I ever "make the Romanian administration responsible for what happened to the Jews who remained in those ceded territories." Indeed, I made a careful distinction between "the truncated Rumanian state" and pre-1940 Rumania. I specifically pointed out that northern Transylvania, for example, was administered by Hungary between 1940 and 1945 during the time when many Jews from the area were deported to Germany. Obviously, neither the Rumanian government nor the Rumanian administration. Please realize that I am less concerned with attributing "responsibility" for Jewish losses than in determining the extent of Jewish deaths during the war in all of pre-1940 Rumania (including those territories not under Rumanian admin-

istration).

During your presentation at the IHR conference, you stated that the indeed reputable survey by Manuila and Filderman had estimated the number of "Jews who died in Rumania during the war" at only 15,000. When I first heard a tape recording of that statement, I was immediately rather suspicious. It was hard for me to believe that a reputable estimate could be so much lower than those we see today.

Actually, the Manuila/Filderman report estimated "Jewish losses" for the territory of 1939 Rumania at 209,214 of which two percent (15,000) are attributed to the Rumanian administration. The 15,000 figure which you cited cannot be compared with the estimates of Dawidiwicz and other Jewish historians because theirs are for Jews in a much larger geographical area. The comparisons of estimates you made at the IHR conference is almost completely meaningless because the estimates you compare are for quite different territories and groups of Jews.

Also contrary to what you stated, the various Jewish estimates of "Rumanian Jews" who died during the war are not Jews "killed by the Rumanians," but rather of Jews from the territory of pre-1940 Rumania who perished, at whoever's hands and in whatever circumstances.

You also stated that "... after the publication of this (Manuila/Filderman) paper . . . nobody spoke about that matter for almost twenty years, when suddenly . . . the figure (of 15,000) rose abruptly to what I would call stage two (250,000) . . ." Actually, the estimates of Rumanian Jewish losses did not increase steadily following the publication of the Manuila/Filderman report in 1957. The highest estimate of Rumanian Jewish losses (pre-1940 borders) that I have seen is 530,000. This estimate was made by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine in April 1946, that is, eleven years before the publication of the Manuila/Filderman report.

I believe that your unhappiness with my letter of 8 May is based on a misunderstanding. Please believe me when I stress that I completely share your concern for historical truth and objectivity. That's why I've gone to the effort of writing to you about this matter. We all have a responsibility to keep modern historiography from being reduced to a form of mass media public relations. I hope very much that you will not remain upset with me over this matter, and, indeed, that we can work together for the common goal, of historical truth.

Sincerely,
Mark Weber

FRANK COMMENTS

I was a subscriber to *The Journal* almost from its inception, but let my subscription lapse after a year in protest at what I considered a good idea fouled up in its execution. I refer specifically to the "bad name" given *The Journal*—and the cause of historical revisionism in general—by the (I will be frank) amateurishness and ineptness of the then-editor, who I believe operated under a pseudonym.

With each issue I received during that first year of publication, I fairly cringed upon reading the "A Note from the Editor" section, which he

seemed to delight in using as a forum for self-aggrandizement. Was he a columnist for a public secondary school newspaper, or the editor of a historical journal that was striving for academic recognition?

It was embarrassing, I recall, to show these journals to people whom I hoped to influence, only to have them chuckle.

And so I resolved to have no more to do with *The Journal*. But after a year of not knowing what was going on, I chanced recently to come across copies of both the Spring and Summer 1982 issues, and I must say I was pleased indeed. I like the new format, the larger size, and most importantly, the more restrained scholarly tone. It will help out a lot in winning over to our cause more new people, and in finally allowing those leaning toward us already to be more readily able to identify publicly with you without the embarrassment of having to associate their names with the polemics of your former editor.

So please again accept my order for a subscription!

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Charles A. Beard: A Tribute

Dr. JAMES J. MARTIN

(Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference)

I

Charles A. Beard was born on 27 November 1874 in Knights-town, Indiana, a small farming community about 35 miles east of Indianapolis. He was the son of a prosperous farmer, and a member of a family in which the intelligent discussion of public affairs was a tradition. When only eighteen years old, Beard's father bought and presented to him the town newspaper, the weekly Knightstown Sun, which he and his brother ran for the next four years. Following this experience, Beard enrolled in DePauw College (now University), in Greencastle, about 35 to 40 miles southwest of Indianapolis, an environment similar to the one Beard had been born in. Though Beard was for 50 years identified with sophisticated urban settings as a university professor and public figure here and abroad, and was to be a familiar presence in the nation's capital, his ties were always strong with the rural, agricultural world. It was no accident that he spent the last decades of his life as the resident on and proprietor of a working dairy farm in the small western Connecticut town of New Milford.

Beard graduated from DePauw in 1898, and thereafter for a few years divided his time between graduate study at Columbia University in New York and special study at Oxford in England, where he spent about two years.¹ It was while he was still in England that Beard's first book, a study of the Industrial Revolution, was published in 1901, a work which was to be reprinted at least ten times during his career.

In 1904 Beard obtained his doctor of philosophy degree from

Columbia, and then began his short but spectacular career as a university professor. He virtually founded the school of politics at Columbia in 1907, though 'political science' had been a term associated with a collection of subjects taught more or less in unison there since 1880. Shortly thereafter he began his long association with various forces and elements interested in the reform of local government, the introduction of serious technical study of its problems through scientific public administration. It was a career with many highlights, and worldwide recognition, including positions with the National Municipal League, a long string of publications on local government and a formidable textbook, *American Government and Politics*. First published by Macmillan in 1910, this book went into ten editions in his lifetime, and its revision in 1948 was one of his last literary endeavors. Probably the highlights of this side of Beard's career was his invitation to Japan for two years after the disastrous earthquake which destroyed much of Tokyo in 1923, where he contributed significantly to a major reorganization of that city's local structure and government, and his election to the Presidency of the American Political Science Association in 1926. Beard was elected President of the American Historical Association in 1933, the only person ever to hold both these posts.

Beard as a teacher gained a reputation few have ever been able to match in such a short time. Testimonials to his electric personality and ability to galvanize student participation in the joint task of learning are amazing, and memorials from those who were part of the relationship, some even thirty and forty years later, are remarkable.² Though he had been teaching just over four years, when it was learned that the dean of Columbia College was about to retire, in 1909, the campus paper polled the student body as to their suggestion for replacement, and Beard was the overwhelming choice. But it was unlikely he was interested in the post.

If Charles A. Beard was making quiet but influential headway in the general field of practical political labors beyond the campus, perhaps this was a sideshow to the furor he was to create nationally and even internationally with the publication of his sensational book *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, in 1913. Beard was not the first student of the impact of material considerations as an influence in the construction of the American Constitution in 1787-89. But his particular structuring of the argument drew forth a sulphurous attack, and a continuing disparagement which really has never subsided. Thirty-five years later there were still scholars trying to denature the impact of Beard's book, though studies of American history textbooks indicated that his approach had been incorporated in a resounding majority of them a quarter of a century later.

The effort to tag Beard as some kind of Marxist was especially malevolent, equivalent to the ugly smears he was to reap when he blossomed as the nation's most effective critic of the foreign policy intrigues of Franklin D. Roosevelt a generation later. But Beard was no variety of Marxist whatever. As he reiterated over the years, his view was solidly positioned on the *Federalist Papers*, James Madison's famous discourse on the unevenness of possessions as a source of political faction, as well as being quite in the tradition based on the mid-nineteenth century American historian Richard Hildreth,³ whose works had been part of an exposure while at DePauw, and undoubtedly due to the influence of one of Beard's favorite teachers (and one-time Union Army officer), Prof. James R. Weaver. Furthermore, as the quarrel grew over the years after 1913, Beard was to re-emphasize that the title of his book began with the article *An*, not *The*, and was intended for sober thought and consideration as an important and previously sidetracked influence in the drawing together of the American Constitution. It was Beard's first encounter with the venom which is generated when a challenge is issued to the institutionally-entrenched representing an official Establishment.

The controversy over the book on the Constitution was still going on, and Beard was at work on two other books shortly to be published, when the World War broke out in midsummer, 1914. His views on the war are quite complex, and, though he subsequently endorsed the American decision to become involved, nearly three years later (which he subsequently deplored), in the early period of American neutrality he advanced no strong position. However, this was not the stance of the President of Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler. Butler, one of the standouts of a generation of university heads who firmly believed that the chiefs of the nation's educational institutions had a responsibility to provide intellectual as well as other leadership, had strong views on most things. On the war which continued to widen until it involved most of the world's major States, he was no exception. A vociferous Francophile then and for over a generation later, Butler became especially testy over the sentiments of his faculty when such were known or suspected to lag in zeal and intensity for the Allied cause when compared to his.

It was out of this conviction that there eventuated the celebrated incident resulting in Butler's dismissal from the Columbia faculty of J. McKeen Cattell, H.W.L. Dana and then Leon Fraser, largely on a guilt-by-association basis, for known incidental company-keeping with persons considered lukewarm in their attitudes toward the moral superiority of President's long-favored side. It was the incident which led to Beard's resignation from Columbia⁴ and the academic world, to which he returned for only brief moments in the following thirty years.⁵

By the time this happened, the U.S.A. was involved in the war, and Beard was an outspoken supporter of involvement. His repudiation of the anti-war sentiments of Dana, Cattell and Fraser was a matter of record. But when they were dismissed by Butler, Beard's indignation swelled, and at the end of a few months of fierce controversy over the firings, Beard submitted on 8 October 1917 a letter of resignation from Columbia which is to this day one of the great documents in support of academic freedom in its best sense. (Strangely enough, in the case of Fraser, it had been Butler who had proposed his employment in the first place, in Beard's own department. Beard opposed his hiring, but after he had been employed, Beard was dead set against his firing. Aggravated by what happened to Dana and Cattell, the dismissal of Fraser was the last straw, so to speak. The subsequent eminence of the careers of Dana and Cattell has drawn much comment over the years but few followed that of Fraser. In the mid-thirties he was chairman of the board and president of the Bank of International Settlements and in 1937 became president of the First National Bank of New York.⁶ One might be led to comment that Butler's talent for dismissing the competent was demonstrable.)

It has been advanced by various commentators on Beard's career that walking away from an influential and well-paid professorial post such as that he held at Columbia was an act of more than ordinary courage, since it left him with the problem of support for a wife and two children. But it turned out to be no catastrophe, as one unacquainted with the scope of Beard's diligence and imagination might conjecture. He was already engaged in a joint labor with William C. Bagley, which bloomed as a textbook destined for nation-wide acceptance and use.

Macmillan published *A History of the American People* in 1918, not long after the resolution of the confrontation at Columbia. In its various editions, one adapted for use by the American Army Educational Commission, another for the California public school system (over 600,000 copies here alone), and a third tailored to the lower school and junior high school co-authored with Bagley published in 1920 and 1922 sold in excess of 600,000 more copies. In this time, after separating from Columbia, Beard was feverishly involved in his labors in behalf of various institutions working professionally to improve and reform American local government, and the climax of his activities in the early 1920s was his invitation for the two-year stay in Japan, and shortly after that his election to the presidency of the American Political Science Association.

Beard's unsurpassed skill at condensation, generalization and synthesis suited well a writing career which involved joint work with some forty other writers. His two works with Harry Elmer

Barnes's favorite teacher at Columbia, James Harvey Robinson, *History of Europe: Our Own Times* and *Outlines of European History* (this also including a second co-worker, the famed Orientologist, James H. Breasted), sold in excess of a million copies. But perhaps Beard's greatest triumph and claim to permanent fame as a historian was a result of a pair of joint works with his wife, Mary Ritter Beard, a formidable writer of history in her own right. The first 2-volume work, *The Rise of American Civilization*, appeared in the spring of 1927. Its influence is incalculable, and those who have borrowed from it or who have cited from it or made other use of it surely are a vast number. The sequel, also in 2 volumes, *America in Mid-Passage*, appeared on the eve of World War Two. It is instructive to note that these ponderous tomes (the four volumes in their original hardcover editions weighed in excess of ten pounds) were written not for the Academy and the professoriat but for the general reader. Their adoption as Book of the Month club selections in their time testifies in part to that. In fact, it can be advanced that Beard was the last historian of top repute in this land to write for the general public, and for not once patronizing it and deliberately writing down to it.

Beard's books in his lifetime may have sold in excess of 12,000,000 copies.⁷ Inadequate information on the many translations (some editions were in Braille) and publications abroad (editions of various titles appeared in Britain, Germany, Brazil, Japan, Austria, Switzerland, Mexico and elsewhere) make the determination of a precise figure difficult, but editions subsequent to Beard's demise have been quite inadequately accounted for as well (an updated edition of the widely hailed wartime *Basic History of the United States* [1944] was released as late as 1960.) The total over the more than 80 years since the publication of his first work in 1901 may exceed fifteen million, worldwide, while, when it comes to total readership in that span of time, using estimates and techniques adopted by total readership surveys conducted to determine total magazine readership by N.W. Ayer and Son's *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*, one is not likely to be far off the mark in concluding Charles A. Beard's readers, of one work or another, to be in the seventy-five million range.

But in assessing these awesome statistics and projecting others in the absence of hard evidence on the basis of the known total situation we should pay attention to something even more important: the substance of Beard's historical writing in terms of quality, its impact, and its enduring significance. Particularly apropos in this context is the closing paragraph in the essay on Beard as a historian by Professor Howard K. Beale, the editor of

the symposium and mini-festschrift in Beard's honor published in 1951:

Yet it is not the quantity but the quality of Beard's writing that gives it importance. His *Industrial Revolution* was one of the first books on that important phenomenon. His and Robinson's writings on European history, in which Beard was responsible for most of the economic element, pioneered in "the new history" that emphasized social and economic forces and ideas. An *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, his *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, and his *Economic Basis of Politics* profoundly affected American historiography. The first of these and his last two books on foreign policy have excited more controversy and more denunciation than any other history of the half century. His *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, parts of *The Rise of American Civilization*, *The Idea of National Interest*, and *The Open Door at Home* rank among the small number of great American books that deal with the history of ideas. His and Mary Beard's *America in Midpassage* is a great example of a successful synthesis, which is overshadowed by the even better *Rise of American Civilization*, one of the most highly praised books of the century and probably the most successful large-scale synthesis in American historical writing.⁸

Beard the master synthesist did not entirely obscure Beard the student of special studies. The scope of his understanding of the latter may be discerned by the wide range of books he reviewed. One of these special areas was the field of revisionist studies dealing with the origins of the World War and the circumstances attending America's involvement. Though a supporter of Wilson and involvement at the start, like several others, Beard soon repudiated his enthusiasm and joined the critics and revisionists, even though he made no special studies himself. His acceptance of the revisionist diplomatic studies, which repudiated the German war guilt thesis, the basis for the Versailles settlement of 1919-21, was rapid. He enthusiastically reviewed the works of Barnes and Sidney B. Fay in this area in the late '20s, and summarized its upshot in a remarkable paragraph in the 1927 *Rise of American Civilization*, published in April. Following a searing quotation from Sir Philip Gibbs' *Now It Can Be Told*, Beard added the following:⁹

To the confessions of once-muzzled journalists were added more impressive documents. When Russian, German and Austrian archives were torn open by revolution, the secret negotiations, conversations, agreements, and treaties by which the Entente Powers had planned to break Germany and divide the spoils of war, according to the ancient rules, were exposed to the public gaze. In all its naked horror the sordid and grimy diplomacy which had precipitated the bloody conflict was revealed; and by way of supplement memoirs, papers, treaties, and articles on the back-

ground of the war began to flow from the presses. Though cautious editors long ignored the researches of scholars, though aged club men and embattled women continued to fight the war along canonical lines, the task of keeping alive the old reverie was far beyond their powers.

In fact, Beard was of the view that "the spell of the war to end war (he did not enclose these last five words in quotes) was shattered" "by the spring of 1920." Most Americans in the academic world started disavowing their one-time high zeal for it all. The deflation of the academic participation in the war auxiliary was carried out with especial conviction in H.L. Mencken's new journal, *The American Mercury*, and Beard was a contributor to the very first volume in 1924. But there probably were few American historians who had labored so hard in promoting "Mr. Wilson's war" who had the nerve to read the famous estimate of their work in Mencken's journal later on, by C. Hartley Grattan, titled "The Historians Cut Loose." (*The American Mercury*, August, 1927.)

II

The closing years of the 1920s, the national troubles signalled by the stock market collapse in October, 1929 (though several somewhat lower "lows" were to be experienced down into 1932) and the era of general malaise of the early 1930s found Beard as busy writing as ever, updating older books and turning out a stream of articles for various journals of both scholarly and general interest. It was the time when he began to show the first indications of a serious and sustained interest in American foreign policy as such, as opposed to attention to this field submerged in general accounts and sweeping narratives which tried to take the entire scope of affairs into consideration.

It can be advanced that his concentration on foreign policy and foreign affairs is traceable mainly from works produced in the early 1930s, especially two slim volumes published in 1934 and obviously put together before that, *The Idea of National Interest* and *The Open Door at Home*. One may argue that the World War had been a personal catastrophe for him, and sobered rumination on its consequences colored several of his writings in the decade after it ended. He demonstrably was aware of the changed season in American thinking after 1890 and thereabouts, with the emergence of a variety of American imperial¹⁰ thinking as best exemplified by Alfred Thayer Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge and Albert J. Beveridge, whom he was to characterize in 1939 as "four of the most powerful agitators that ever afflicted any nation." Beard even had flashes of presentiment as to where the inexorable American expansion into the world was

taking its people, as when, shortly after returning from Japan, he wrote a speculative piece published in *The Nation* in March, 1925 on what he saw as the coming war with Japan might accrue to the U.S.A.¹¹ His repeated articles during the 1920s on the continuous pressure for the creation of an ever larger Navy and the relation of this to sustained global expansion is another side of his picture of the world and America's increased presence in it. But it was not until the coming of the New Deal that we find him taking the time to write a book length work on the substance of foreign politics.

Like an immense swath of Americans of all persuasions, Beard initially looked with favor on the Roosevelt New Deal, especially that part of its program (divided by some into "the Three Rs," relief, recovery, and reform) which constituted the effort to emerge from the economic slump, "recovery" (in actuality a global disaster, and as traceable to the profound planetary dislocations caused by the war of 1914-1918 as to any of the technical aberrations so prized by economist analysts.) Beard even subscribed to the idea of "national planning" of a sort, but more in harmony by far with ideas one can discern in plenitude in the pages of the *Harvard Business Review* and the publications of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School than those current among the likes of Bolshevik and related collectivists. (A perusal of the top rank business school theorists in their writing between 1917 and 1932 reveals the firm outlines of the "mixed economy" and "government-in-partnership-with-business" views which evolved into working models well before anyone got around to blaming it all on John Maynard Keynes.)

Few persons of prominence in the land were as generous as Beard in affording the New Deal a chance to succeed. He wavered back and forth between an eagerness to believe it could succeed in bringing about national economic recovery and a kind of hardheaded realization, which probably stemmed from his own canny business sense, that it could not. And if it did not, then what? Right away he sensed the likelihood that a very attractive alternative scheme would be to try to solve the nation's dolors by dissolving them into a much bigger pool of such: the world's. As early as the winter of 1934-35 we find Beard making a remarkable speculation in this direction, published in the February, 1935 issue of *Scribner's Magazine* ("National Politics and War," pp.65-70): "Confronted by the difficulties of a deepening domestic crisis and by the comparative ease of a foreign war, what will President Roosevelt do? Judging by the history of American politicians, he will choose the latter." FDR's discovery of sin abroad in the early fall of 1937 after the horrendous return of depression collapse that summer seemed to be an almost eerie following-out of a course already planned, and previously

divulged, by Beard. One can see in Beard's piece in Scribner's in 1935 the germ of the much more expanded version of this thesis in his 1939 book, *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels*.

Beard's own ideas of a desirable policy were expressed in *The Open Door at Home*, after he had explored the slippery abstraction called "national interest" from all angles, demonstrating sufficiently that it masked the interests of individuals and small groups far more often than reflecting a true general hope or concern. At the core of his own views for national procedure was the belief that autonomy, whether or not desirable, was surely possible. Since 95% of the country's commerce was internal or domestic, policy should be based on this reality, and foreign trade effectively muffled. To satisfy the need for the remainder that presumably could not be locally produced, Beard suggested the stepping up of research into substitutes. His system eventually graduated into what was described as "continentalism," and extended more or less to incorporate the Western Hemisphere. It was a program of reduced aspirations which he called "national self-restraint," eminently more attainable, he asserted, than the possibility of restraining fifty other countries in an international convention, or having to go to war with one or more of them. Beard found in the incessant and interminable search for foreign commerce one of the steady producers of the instigations of international armed conflict. But hanging like a pall over much of his work in the 1933-39 period, as reflected especially in his foreign policy and public affairs books and articles, was the recurring thought that sooner or later the United States was going to be carried into another war. One of his least successful volumes, *The Devil Theory of War*, published in 1936 (Vanguard), incorporated in its subtitle, *An Inquiry into the Nature of History and the Possibility of Keeping Out of War*, perhaps the substance of what all his furious production during those times was about.

Though the year 1936 did not reveal any serious concern with world affairs or edging in the direction of involvement somewhere in some state of belligerency on the part of Roosevelt's regime, there being many opportunities for such in that year of world upheaval, it probably was reason for dubiety on the part of someone once-burnt, twice-shy as Beard. But all one heard from the White House were sweet cooings about the beauties of peace, in FDR's speech at Chautauqua, N.Y., on 14 August of that year, and his famous disparagement of a national economy based on armament production in his address in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on December 1. Beard's hesitancy might have been based on a number of doubts and circumstances, the most important of which might have been the knowledge that the federal government had gone over the billion dollar mark for the first time in American history, in the area of annual military appropriations.

in peacetime, in 1936.

The following year however things began to take shape in the direction of the apparition Beard had been seeing since the 1920's. Roosevelt's staggering, near-total victory at the polls in November 1936, creating the illusion of an unheard-of 'mandate' and blank check to do about anything, foundered on two unexpected eventualities: the rejection by Congress of his plan to pack the Supreme Court with six more judges who might look more kindly on the constitutionality of New Deal legislation, and the horrendous economic collapse in the summer of 1937, with unemployment totals and stock market lows exceeding what had prevailed before the New Dealers succeeded to power.

The stage was set for the remarkable turnaround on world affairs to be taken by Roosevelt. On 5 October 1937 came the famous speech in Chicago urging the "peace-loving nations" to "quarantine the aggressors," accompanied by a spirited plug for the idea of "collective security," which unfortunately had also been a major stratagem urged by Stalinist Russia and the Comintern. It came as no surprise that though the speech in general appalled Americans so that Cordell Hull and other New Deal luminaries later admitted to being much frightened by the adverse public reaction, it did receive a most vociferous reception by American Communists and especially their nominal leader, Earl Browder. The anti-interventionist (at that time) liberal weekly *New Republic*, long an outlet for Beard's quite hostile views on the things Roosevelt now was advocating, created a literary 'debate' between Browder and Beard on the subject at hand. It was the occasion for one of Beard's most effective demonstrations in behalf of anti-interventionism and deflation of the enthusiasms of Roosevelt, and Browder. It was published in the *New Republic* for 2 February 1938.¹²

From this point on it can be determined with accuracy that Beard had become a fighter, not just a writer, on the foreign policy-foreign affairs front. Through 1938 into the early months of 1939, as crisis replaced crisis in European diplomatic confrontations, he saw taking shape here the firm foundations of a war party, deep in influence, prestige and resources, across all political attitudes from millionaires to Stalinists, with Roosevelt its symbol and organizational rallying point. And, as Beard had long expected and predicted, the emphasis in the conduct of public affairs had steadily shifted to concentration on evil in distant places instead of preoccupation with effecting social and economic salvation at home.

The substance of all of Beard's lecturing and writing on this political revolution in-the-making was incorporated into one searing statement, a masterpiece published by Harper¹³ a few days before the Hitler-Stalin pact and the outbreak of the

German-Polish war in the late summer of 1939, titled *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels*. The title referred to the famed discourse in the fourth act of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, in which the dying king advised his son to "busy" the "giddy minds" of his subjects "with foreign quarrels" in the event of dire straits befalling his kingdom in domestic matters. It fit in beautifully with Beard's suspicions of the direction matters would take, from a time when the New Dealers and their President never even mentioned the subject of 'foreign affairs.' It sold into the generous six figures, and its message, Beard's editor at Harper's, George Leighton, said, "was more than intellectuals and crusaders among Roosevelt's followers could endure."

It was expectable that those who salivated for involvement in war someplace would heap malevolent vituperation on Beard generously. His lengthy and unnerving assault from this new perspective forced these self-styled would-be saviors of 'civilization' and 'Western culture' to assume a defensive posture, and elicited a sustained rhetoric devoted to absolving themselves of any such deviousness. As for Beard, the more intense became the assaults on him as a consequence of publishing *Giddy Minds*, the more resolute and unbending he became.¹⁴

If Beard had not completely estranged himself from that portion of his former liberal admirers-now-turned-intellectual-warriors by his publication of *Giddy Minds*, then he surely finished the process by his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to the Lend-Lease Bill before Congress of 4 February 1941. Another string of "measures short of war" by which the Administration became a *de facto*, if not *de jure*, belligerent, it eventually passed, but not before Beard had at least penetrated its hide with a stinging commentary. Beard objected to the Title of the Bill, "An Act to Promote the Defense of the United States," and declared that, in view of its incredibly loose-worded structure, it be retitled, suggesting a sardonic alternate:¹⁵

All provisions of law and the Constitution to the contrary, notwithstanding, an Act to place all the wealth and all the men and women in the United States at the free disposal of the President, to permit him to transfer or carry goods to any foreign government he may be pleased to designate, anywhere in the world, to authorize him to wage undeclared wars for anybody, anywhere in the world, until the affairs of the world are ordered to suit his policies, and for any other purpose he may have in mind now or at any time in the future, which may be remotely related to the contingencies contemplated in the title of this Act.

Beard and the anti-interventionists lost the battle over Lend-Lease; it became public law in March. Thereafter came a continuing series of other Presidential moves and maneuvers

calculated to enhance the chances of involvement in the war but under circumstances which were exploited to try to convince the unwarlike populace that the initiative had been taken by the putative enemy. It may be that the U.S. might never have got into the war that way, or possibly by actions which would have been profoundly unwanted, because of their political implications and possibilities. (It was conceded in the summer of 1938 by Lord Halifax that war was "a very uncertain remedy" for the situation taking place worldwide; by that same time three years later this kind of sober sentiment had virtually vanished.)

A good case can be advanced that the anti-involvement elements fought Roosevelt and the interventionists to a standstill down to the end of the fall of 1941. Then came the irretrievable event of December 7. Pearl Harbor washed the entire question from the agenda. It was a grievous tactical error for the anti-interventionists to run from the scene in precipitate disarray and to remain silent for the duration of the war. It gave the Administration the opportunity to conduct a global war with a book of blank checks, unimpeded by criticism and with an opportunity to make as many blunders and mistakes as they might, with little if any accountability, and eventually to conclude the fighting on the basis of settlements so bad that the effects were still being experienced almost forty years later. But, run they did, and with them went most of the tradition of what might be termed a "loyal opposition." The resulting near-totalitarian liberal war machine was hailed by its directors as 'unity.'

Beard joined the underground too, so to speak, though he was hardly silent. Several projects occupied his time. Included was the work producing a 1,450-page revision of his 1910 political science text, and time to dwell on the Federalist Papers, almost a ritual with him; he was known to re-read them every year. During the war he took time out to produce one of the better editions, titled *The Enduring Federalist*, not published until 1948. But the two memorable achievements of the war years were a lengthy, almost speculative and ruminative exploration of the American political phenomenon, titled *The Republic: Conversations on Fundamentals*, (1943) which sold more than four million copies, and the remarkable single-volume condensation of his previous works with his wife, issued in 1944 as *A Basic History of the United States*, which sold about 650,000 copies in the ensuing five years.

Though Beard spent the war prodigiously involved in several memorable literary projects, it was known that he was also industriously collecting materials for an extensive labor on the approach of the war and also the war itself. The first installment was published less than a year after hostilities ceased. In the late summer of 1946 came *American Foreign Policy in the Making*,

1932-1940, which bore the sub-title, *A Study in Responsibilities*. It accrued some grudging and uneasy reviews¹⁶ from the spokesmen for the New American Order now taking shape in its preliminary organization of the portions of the world not already conceded to the Stalinists or about to be conceded to the Maoists.

Beard's inexorable procedure of demonstrating the actions of the profoundly domestically-oriented Democratic Party, its eschewing of all involvements in the League of Nations, collective security and other internationalist ploys, as well as devotion to an unswerving policy of neutrality in foreign affairs, troubled the readers committed to the New Dispensation. They perhaps suspected where the next blow would strike, and thus were able to prepare themselves psychologically for it, so that when it was upon them they were able to direct upon Beard a ferocious flamethrower of criticism and personal denunciation far beyond what greeted him on the occasion of the publication of *American Foreign Policy* in 1946.

However, the interval between the two Beard books was punctuated by the appearance, in January, 1947, of the literary tremor on the question of American involvement in World War II by George Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, in the opinion of many, including this writer, still the best book published on the subject. And Beard was intimately involved in it. Perhaps the torrent of invective loosed on Beard the following year after his second book was published was in part due to the vociferous praise he accorded Morgenstern's volume, which was prominently displayed later on in the promotion of the book. In his Acknowledgments, Morgenstern stated, "The author wishes to express his gratitude to Charles A. Beard for a scholarly appraisal of this work."¹⁷ And Beard had done so in no stinting manner:¹⁸

Having scrutinized the more than ten thousand pages of sworn testimony and official papers bearing on this disaster before I read the proof sheets of Mr. Morgenstern's book I can say out of some knowledge of the subject that his volume is a powerful work based on primary and irreducible facts in the case, carefully gathered and buttressed by exact citations of the sources. For his own inferences and conclusions, he gives documentary contexts. This method and procedure, I feel sure, will make Mr. Morgenstern's book a permanent contribution to the quest for an understanding of the tragedy of Pearl Harbor.

It was an acclamation at least equalling that accorded the book by retired Admiral Harry E. Yarnell in his review in the *Far Eastern Survey*.

Though barely half or so of Beard's age, Morgenstern was no tyro in writing.¹⁹ But it was his first book. The main case against him however was that he was a writer for Col. Robert R.

McCormick's *Chicago Tribune*. And the *Tribune* along with the Patterson papers in New York and Washington had been the principal burrs in the hide of the Roosevelt liberal camp since before the war. They had taken the initiative in focusing attention on every nuance of the Pearl Harbor story surfacing in bits and pieces all during the war. So it was incumbent upon all terminal liberals to scoff at anything coming from the *Tribune* stable being taken seriously, not only in their view lacking merit, integrity and competence, but now surely intended merely to slander their dead Leader's memory. That one as revered as Beard would leap at the first opportunity to hail Morgenstern's work as a landmark and a candidate for serious attention for a long time to come was more than they could stand. From that point on it was Beard who drew the majority of the poisoned arrows, and the volume only increased after his *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War*, 1941 was published in the spring of 1948. The books were not competitors but in reality complementary, since they took on the problem from quite different vantage points. Morgenstern was mainly concerned with a meticulous turning over of the evidence relating to the Pearl Harbor attack preliminaries as revealed by various investigations of the event, while Beard was more concerned with broad political aspects of the growing assumption of government personally and the bypassing of various constitutional limitations by the President in the year and a half ending in the Hawaii attack.²⁰

Perhaps it was easier for the academic and political Establishment to ignore Morgenstern than Beard. The eminence and the near-half century presence of the latter simply could not be conjured away, no matter how venomous and malicious the ad hominem attack became. Perhaps the most succinct comment on the impact of Beard's book came from Dr. Louis Morton, Chief of the Pacific Section of the United States Army Office of Military History. Writing in the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings for April, 1955, Dr. Morton conceded:

With the publication in 1948 of his (Charles A. Beard's) *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War*, revisionism reached the status of a mature historical interpretation of events that no serious student of prewar policy could ignore.

When the symposium *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*²¹ was published late in 1953 the foundation stones for Pearl Harbor revisionism were in place, amply supported by Professor Charles Callan Tansill's *Back Door to War* (1952).

Beard not only infuriated the influential supporters of Roosevelt by his insistence that the continuous deception by the President in making his steady moves toward war while endlessly

talking about his peacefulness (few were allowed to forget his pre-election promise in 1940 never to send Americans off to a war outside U.S. borders) was in essentials, as Leighton described it, "completely to undermine constitutional government and set the stage for a Caesar" (Beard's famed peroration on pp. 582-584 of his Epilogue to President Roosevelt is required reading in this context.) He had opened up another sore while writing his book with a famed article in the *Saturday Evening Post* for October 4, 1947, "Who's to Write the History of the War?," in which he revealed that the Rockefeller Foundation, working with its alter ego, the Council on Foreign Relations, had provided \$139,000 for the latter to spend in underwriting an official-line history of how the war had come about, in an effort to defeat at the start the same kind of "debunking" historical campaign which had immediately followed the end of World War I. Beard complained of inaccessibility of various documents, which he was sure would be fully available to anyone doing an Establishment version of the wartime past, convinced that these would be sat on as 'classified' for a generation or more. Coming to Beard's side in an even more vociferous exposure of these newest developments was the columnist George Sokolsky, in a remarkable story published nationally a week later (11 October).²²

So it was understandable that the following February, two months before the publication of President Roosevelt, when the National Institute of Arts and Letters awarded Beard their gold medal for the best historical work published in the preceding decade, that his erstwhile liberal admirers would reach the end of their tolerance. The highlight of their protest was the resignation in rage from the Institute by one of its most influential members, Lewis Mumford, accompanied by abuse of Beard so extreme that it led to a memorable chiding to Mumford from Harry Elmer Barnes in a 1½ column letter to the editors of the *Chicago Tribune*, published 11 February 1948. But the attack on Beard had barely begun. With the publication of President Roosevelt two months later, in April, the denunciation of Beard became a veritable industry, and the most eminent of the Roosevelt academic defenders were recruited to contribute to the character assassination. Probably the most outrageous was that of Harvard's Samuel Eliot Morison, Roosevelt's handpicked choice to write a history of American naval operations in World War II, and even elevated to the rank of Admiral in recognition of his labors.²³ But the outline of the total campaign aimed at Beard is substantial, extensively documented in the later editions of Barnes's booklet *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout* (especially 6th thru 9th).

Probably Charles A. Beard's last public act was his appearance in Washington once more, this time testifying before the Senate

Armed Services Committee on April 3, 1948, presenting testimony against the adoption of universal military training.

Beard had suffered from an ailment known as aplastic anemia, and on August 2 entered the hospital in New Haven, Conn. for treatment. His death occurred on 1 September 1949, in his 74th year.²⁴

After all the trendy faddish conceptions and misconceptions about him are assessed, discounted and dismissed, it is quite possible that Beard's editor at Harper's, George Leighton, had estimated him most accurately. To Leighton, the irreducible Beard remained what he had always been: a "hardnut Indiana populist" with "humanitarian tendencies." To others Charles A. Beard in his lifetime was the quintessential and ultimate irritant and annoyance to the puffed-up gasbag mandarins of the Establishment, in the words of his former student and vast admirer, Sokolsky, "one of those tough fighters who goes after a fact with all the excitement of a big game hunter," and who "abhorred the lie, the bluff, the fake and the trick." His energy, diligence and imagination made a memorable impact on all fortunate enough to know him. For the others there is the legacy of his immense literary production, examples of which are so widely dispersed even in these days that it is unlikely he will fade from memory for a long time to come.

Footnotes

1. Beard actually spent three years in Britain. His first year was followed by a return to the U.S.A. Then he came back to study at Oxford for two years.
2. See especially Arthur W. McMahon, "Charles Beard, the Teacher," in Howard K. Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal* (University of Kentucky Press, 1951), pp. 213-230.
3. Hildreth, a graduate of Harvard in 1826, produced a six-volume work published 3 volumes at a time in 1849 and 1851, which carried the story from the Columbian expeditions to the Missouri Compromise. There is a fair estimate of Hildreth in Michael Kraus, *The Writing of American History* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), pp. 129-135. Hildreth's opening statement in the first volume of *The History of the United States, 1497-1789* read:

Of centennial sermons and Forth-of-July orations, whether professedly such or in the guise of history, there are more than enough. It is due to our fathers and ourselves, it is due to truth and philosophy, to present for once, on the historic stage, the founders of our American nation unbedaubed with patriotic rouge, wrapped up in no fine-spun cloaks of excuses and apology . . . often rude, hard, narrow, superstitious and mistaken, but always earnest, downright, manly and sincere.

The result of their labors is eulogy enough; their best apology is to tell their story exactly as it was.

4. Technically, the dismissed teachers were separated from the Columbia faculty by the Trustees of Columbia, and Beard addressed his condemnation of the action to them and centered his denunciation on them, suggesting that what was wrong with higher education in the land was due to a similar class of persons in charge everywhere. When the following year Thorstein Veblen published his *The Higher Learning in America*, which especially took to task such university presidents as Butler and Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford, Beard reviewed the book favorably and used the satiric phrase "hire learning," which quickly established its currency and was still to be heard many decades later.
5. Strangely enough, Beard returned to Columbia for a semester as visiting professor of government in 1939, with World War II already underway and Butler still president of Columbia. Beard also received an LLD degree from Columbia in 1944. His only extended teaching in his long exile was a year at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in 1940-1941.
6. On Fraser, see Beale's editorial note to the essay by George Counts, "Charles Beard, the Public Man," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 224.
7. See tentative compilation of the sale of Beard's books in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, pp. 310-312.
8. Beale, "Beard's Historical Writings," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 263.
9. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 vols., Macmillan, 1927), Vol. II, p. 673. This was rephrased but with no change whatever in substance in *A Basic History of the United States* (Doubleday, Doran, 1944), covering over half of page 442.
10. Beard's most succinct definition of what he meant by the word 'imperialism' is the following: "employment of the engines of government and diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates, and/or spheres of influence occupied usually by other races or peoples, and to promote industrial, trade, and investment opportunities in competition with other imperialist powers or on occasion in collaboration with them where there is mutuality of interests or perils." Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940* (Yale University Press, 1946), p. 113n.
11. Beard, "War with Japan: What Shall We Get Out of It?," *The Nation*, Vol. CXX (March 25, 1925), pp. 311-313.
12. The Beard-Browder "debate" is discussed by this writer in *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941* (2 vols., Devin-Adair, 1964), Vol. II, pp. 876-880.
13. Subtitled *An Estimate of American Foreign Policy*, this was published by Macmillan, but it was the abridged version, in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1939, published on August 20, which reached by far the most readers.

14. Porter Sargent, the authority on American private schools, was also a testy and effective critic of American public affairs, in a succession of hardhitting books. When he started a newsletter in May, 1939 Beard became one of his earliest and most enthusiastic readers. Sargent was a great admirer of Beard's historical work, quoted from it liberally, and occasionally printed excerpts from communications he received from Beard during the tenure of the newsletter. Sargent's output down through March, 1941 was collected and published, with extensive commentary, in 1941 under the title *Getting US Into War*. It is one of the primary sources for anyone interested in the facts and opinion which circulated in this country during the 1939-41 days, in the area of international affairs.
15. Leighton, "Beard and Foreign Policy," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 182, reproduced from the published Hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 77 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 307-313.
16. See especially the quite lengthy estimates in review by Crane Brinton of Harvard in the *New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, Sec. VII, p. 3, September 1, 1946, and by R.M. MacIver of Columbia in the *New York Times Book Review*, p. 3, August 18, 1946, which was decorated by an ugly insinuating cartoon.
17. Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor* (Devin-Adair, 1947), p. xiv.
18. Comment by Beard on back of the jacket of the original edition, also printed separately on promotional material advertising the second printing.
19. Morgenstern was a Chicago native and graduate of the University of Chicago in 1930. During the War, he had served as a Captain in the U.S. Marine Corps, based at Headquarters, directing the corps of Marine combat correspondents. He became a member of the Chicago Tribune editorial staff in 1939, returning after the war and ultimately rising to become Editor of the Editorial page.
20. Beard's long quotations from documents, speeches made in Congress, and his meticulous coverage of the substance of the published reports and documents growing out the Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack make the book especially useful.
21. "Perpetual war for perpetual peace" was an expression coined by Beard, to describe satirically the apparent objective of the world 'liberators' in fashioning their peculiar "postwar world," in which the United Nations Organization was presumed to be put into business largely to conduct military operations against any power "threatening the peace." Barnes was especially taken by the remark and chose it for the title of the symposium published late in 1953 by Caxton. (None of the major publishers would touch a revisionist book, even those by Beard, which were done by a university press. Five years after Beard's death it was almost impossible to find anyone who would issue a book with a revisionist thesis.) Perpetual War was also dedicated to Beard.
22. As things turned out, what the Rockefeller Foundation and the Council on Foreign Affairs were backing was a more rigidly

Establishment tome than either Beard or Sokolsky ever dreamed. Issued in two volumes as *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940* (1952) and *The Undeclared War, 1940-1941* (1953) by Harper, with the slogan proudly displayed on the title page, "Published for the Council on Foreign Relations," the authors were Professors William L. Langer of Harvard and S. Everett Gleason of Amherst. What few knew then or later was that both authors had prestigious jobs during the war in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), probably the most overrated intelligence organization since the Napoleonic Wars, and later also had equally important posts, in its postwar successor, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in the case of Langer, (assistant director) while Gleason, at publication time, was Deputy Executive Secretary of the National Security Council. An indispensable commentary on the first of the Langer-Gleason volumes is the first 19 pages of Harry Elmer Barnes's privately-printed brochure, *The Court Historians Versus Revisionism* (1952).

23. Morison's attack on Beard and his second book in the August, 1948 *Atlantic Monthly* had a two-part title, the second reading, "History Through a Beard." When he later chose to include this review in a book of essays he was reproached for including this utterly tasteless pun on Beard's name by the editor of the *American Historical Review*, Guy Stanton Ford. Contemporaneous with this ugly attack on Beard was a poisonous whispering campaign that he was senile, deaf, and unaware of what was going on any longer. But Beard wore a modern hearing aid, and could match anyone for acumen in the world of history and public affairs. Barnes did a masterful job of combating what he called the "senility smear" of Beard, but traces could be detected about the land for some time thereafter. Morison (1887-1976) lived 16 years longer than Beard, writing almost to the end of his 89 years. But the liberal Establishment launched no venomous gossip about him being 'senile.'
24. Though Beard had hardly become the favorite person of the editors of the *New York Times* in the last 15 years of his life, they did display residual decency by devoting well over a column and a half to an obituary of the deceased historical luminary on September 2, which was remarkably restrained in areas where abuse might have been expected. A full column editorial obituary was devoted to Beard in the *Chicago Tribune* for September 4, in which several remarks attributed to him in quotations must have been in correspondence to Morgenstern. It was in this account that Beard told of working on a third book, presumably from the period after 1941. He was quoted as saying "My study is advancing rapidly," and declaring, "It makes my last book seem like a Sunday School sermon." Nothing of the manuscript of this work has ever been described or published.

The counterattack on Beard by Roosevelt's partisans in Academe was not confined entirely to hostility to his books in review, and gained ground after his death, which seemed to encourage bravery in some circles. By 1950 a large book prepared as a refutation of Beard was published by Prof. Basil Rauch of Columbia, titled *Roosevelt from Munich to Pearl Harbor*. Barnes dealt with its major shortcomings in one of his brochures, *Rauch on Roosevelt* (1952),

though most of the professoriat followed Rauch. One who did not was the tough old Dakotan, Fred A. Shannon, professor of economic history at the University of Illinois. A Pulitzer prize winner earlier for his book on the organization and administration of the Union Army and a future president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (now known as the Organization of American Historians) Shannon in his bibliographical recommendations in his *America's Economic Growth* (3rd. ed., Macmillan, 1951), p. 914, read:

The most scholarly and satisfactory story of the diplomatic background of America's entry into the (Second World) war is Charles A. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940* (New Haven, 1946) and *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941* (New Haven, 1948). An inadequate and unconvincing rebuttal of Beard is Basil Rauch, *Roosevelt from Munich to Pearl Harbor* (New York, 1950).

Memorandum to the President

ISSAH NAKHLEH

A 13 March 1981 introductory letter and memorandum to President Ronald Reagan, submitted by the U.S. representative of The Arab Higher Committee for Palestine.

Dear Mr. President:

I have always admired you, Mr. President, as a nationalist who is determined to restore the United States to its position of respect and leadership of the Free World in the battle against international communism.

I am one of those numerous Palestinian nationalists who oppose communism and who believe that the greatest danger to human values is the Soviet empire. As you know, that empire is composed of thirteen republics, one hundred nationalities, dominates as colonies nine nations totaling one hundred million people in Central and Eastern Europe, has ninety communist parties throughout the world, and is determined to encourage revolution in every country so as to overthrow governments and make them satellites of the Soviet Union.

Only America can effectively meet the communist challenge, but first you must restore the United States to the rule of law in international affairs, to respect for the rights of peoples to self-determination and freedom and for promoting human rights throughout the world. Anything less will not give this great freedom-loving nation the necessary credibility with the many non-communist nations.

Unfortunately, there is already great disappointment relative to your declarations regarding the Palestinians and the Arab-

Israeli conflict. Your attitude is one-sided in favor of Israel. I fully understand your situation because, throughout your adult life, you have had numerous Jewish friends, many of whom are Zionists, and it is apparent you have been exposed to only one side of this dispute. You probably have never had an Arab or Palestinian friend, nor an adequate chance to meet a Palestinian or an Arab to explain to you the Palestinian and Arab point of view.

Accordingly, I respectfully submit to you, Mr. President, the enclosed Memorandum with the hope that you will kindly acquaint yourself with the Palestinian viewpoint.

Mr. President, the American Revolution was one of the first revolutions in the modern world which established by its Declaration of Independence "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The United States was the first country since 1919 to champion the right of self-determination of peoples.

The United States signed at least twenty treaties and declarations which accepted the following principles of international law:

The Conference of American States reiterates, as a fundamental principle of the Public Law of America, that the occupation or acquisition of territory or any other modification or territorial or boundary arrangement obtained through conquest by force or by non-specific means shall not be valid or have legal effect. The pledge of non-recognition of situations arising from the foregoing conditions is an obligation which cannot be avoided either unilaterally or collectively.

By promoting and establishing the United Nations, the United States has accepted the principles of the Charter, which outlawed war and conquest, promoted the right of self-determination of peoples and prescribed the rule of law in international affairs.

By promoting and adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United States has pledged to promote the universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In addition to all the above, the United States as a nation observes a high moral standard and cherishes the maintenance of peace, stability and the rule of law in international affairs.

The only way the United States can deserve to be a leader of the Free World is when it adheres to the above-mentioned principles.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, the United States has violated every one of the above-mentioned principles when it chose to aid

and abet the European and American Zionist Jews to occupy the ancestral homeland of the Palestinians and reduce the Palestinians to a refugee nation in exile.

I am sure, Mr. President, when you know the complete facts, you will uphold justice and support the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. You will uphold their right to live as free people in their ancestral homeland, the restoration to them of their properties and homes, and uphold their dignity and inalienable civil, political, religious and human rights.

It will be the greatest of all your achievements, Mr. President, as leader of this great Christian nation, to restore Palestine to its sacred status as a shrine of peace and justice, where Muslims, Christians and Jews can live as fellow citizens in the democratic Holy Land State with no army, no navy, no air force—a land for pilgrimage, devotion and spiritual inspiration for all mankind.

—Issah Nakhleh

Who Are The Palestinians?

In order to cover up their crime of Genocide against the Palestinians, the Zionists brainwashed the American people about the Palestinians. They portrayed them as the aggressors, terrorists, murderers, fanatic anti-Semite Muslims, who want to throw the Jews into the sea or commit holocaust against Jews. Many Americans do not know that the Palestinians are the victims of aggression and Genocide. They do not know that the Palestinians were expelled from their ancestral homes, lands and properties, and reduced to a refugee nation. They do not know that twenty percent of the Palestinians are Christians who suffered the same fate as their Muslim fellow-citizens. They do not know that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians, whether Christians or Muslims, are very religious, God-fearing, peaceful people. Most of them are farmers, laborers, professionals and shopkeepers, whose only wish is to live peacefully in their ancestral homeland.

The Palestinians are descendants of all the races which lived and fought or conquered Palestine since time immemorial, namely, the Canaanites, the Moabites, the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs and the Ottomans.

The Palestinians of today are about 4,500,000. Twenty percent of them are Christians (Orthodox, Catholics and Protestants), and eighty percent are Muslims. The Palestinian Christians are

descendants of the first Christians who adopted Christianity at the hands of the Apostles. Since the seventh century A.D., Arab language and culture dominated Palestine, and this is why they call themselves Palestinian Arabs.

1,700,000 Palestinians live as refugees in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Libya. 700,000 live as citizens of Jordan, 700,000 live in Israel as second-class citizens, and 1,300,000 live in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and 100,000 live as immigrants in the Americas.

Due to Zionist control of the mass media in the United States, the Palestinians have been smeared as terrorists. The Palestinians are one of the most educated people in the Arab world. There are more professors, lawyers, physicians, dentists, engineers and teachers per capita among the Palestinians than in many other nations of the developing world.

The Palestinians Were Recognized As A Provisionally Independent Nation

When World War I broke out, the Palestinians were living under Ottoman rule with representatives in the Ottoman Parliament at Constantinople. Palestinian leaders joined other leaders from Lebanon, Syria and Iraq in fighting for national independence and freedom from Ottoman rule. Palestinians, as other Arab peoples, joined the Allied Powers with the hope of realizing their independence and freedom.

According to Article XXII of the League of Nations Covenant, the Palestinians were recognized "as a provisionally independent nation, subject to rendering of administrative assistance and advice by a Mandatory until they were able to stand alone."

Great Britain was supposed to obtain a Mandate in 1920 to lead the Palestinians to self-determination and independence. Instead, Great Britain ruled Palestine as a Crown Colony for the benefit of the Jews of the world, because of the Balfour Declaration.

What Is The Balfour Declaration?

The Balfour Declaration was a letter issued on November 2, 1917, sent by Britain's Secretary of State, James Arthur Balfour, to Lord Rothschild, in which he stated: "His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national Jewish home for the Jewish People. . . . It is being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Great Britain had no connection whatsoever with Palestine in 1917, so why should the British Government promise the Jews of the world a Jewish national home in Palestine? The answer was given by Samuel Landman of London, who was Secretary of the World Zionist organization from 1917-1922. Landman disclosed the facts in an official pamphlet, "Great Britain, the Jews and Palestine," published by the New Zionist Press, London, 1936.

He stated how the World Zionist Organization in 1916 entered into a secret agreement with the British War Cabinet, by the terms of which Great Britain promised Palestine to the Zionists as payment for using Zionist pressure in the United States to railroad the United States into World War I as Great Britain's ally.

Mr. Landman states on page 4:

The only way... to induce the American President to come into the War was to secure the co-operation of Zionist Jews by promising them Palestine, and thus enlist and mobilize the hitherto unsuspectedly powerful forces of Zionist Jews in America and elsewhere in favour of the Allies on a quid pro quo contract basis.

The 1939 White Paper

For 21 years, Great Britain denied the Palestinians their right to self-determination and independence, but finally issued the White Paper of May 1939, in which it stated, *inter alia*, the following:

- (1) The Proposal of partition recommended by the Royal Commission, namely the establishment of self-supporting independent Arab and Jewish states within Palestine, has been found to be impracticable.
- (2) His Majesty's Government now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances which have been given to the Arab people in the past, that the Arab population of Palestine should be made the subjects of a Jewish state against their will.
- (3) The independent State should be one in which Arabs and Jews share in government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community are safe-guarded. The establishment of the independent State will be preceded by a transitional period throughout which His Majesty's Government will retain responsibility for the government of the country.

The Zionists in Palestine rejected the British White Paper, and revolted against the British administration of Palestine. From 1939 to 1947 the three Zionist terrorist gangs (the Haganah, the Irgun, and the Stern) carried out the most dastardly crimes

and massacres against the civilian Arab population, as well as against officials of the British government. Many of the political and military leaders in Israel today were members of one of these three Zionist terrorist gangs. Menachem Begin was the leader of the worst of the gangs, namely, the Irgun, which committed thousands of crimes. The most notable and well-remembered of Irgun's dastardly deeds was the blowing up of the King David Hotel on July 23, 1947, when 91 persons were killed and 45 were injured. Another particularly notable crime was the massacre of Deir Yassin ordered by Menachem Begin, when 300 men, women and children were massacred and their bodies dumped into wells or mass graves.

Yitzhak Shamir was leader of the Stern Gang, which committed murders and massacres. It assassinated Lord Moyen in Cairo and the United Nations mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte in Jerusalem. Moshe Dayan, Yigal Yadin, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin, Ezer Weizmann and Ariel Sharon were members of the Haganah gang, which committed mass murders and expulsions of the Palestinians.

How The Palestinians Were Made A Refugee Nation In Exile

In 1947, the British Government submitted the Palestine problem to the United Nations General Assembly, requesting that steps be taken to determine the future government of Palestine. At that time, there were in Palestine 1,350,000 Muslim and Christian Palestinians, who were indigenous or born in Palestine and 650,000 Jews, out of whom 200,000 were born in Palestine and 450,000 who were immigrants and mostly illegal immigrants.

On the 29th of November, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly, by 33 votes in favor, 13 opposed, and 10 abstentions, adopted a resolution partitioning Palestine with a total area of 10,435 square miles, of which 272 square miles are water—into three areas:

- a. An Arab State comprising 4,476 square miles, or 42.88%;
- b. A Jewish State, comprising 4,893 square miles, or 56.47%;
- c. An International regime for the City of Jerusalem comprising 68 square miles, or 0.65%.

When the implementation of the Partition Plan appeared to be impossible without the use of force, the United States took the lead in the Security Council, which passed a resolution calling for a special session of the United Nations General Assembly to consider further the question of the future government of Palestine. In the meantime, the United States promoted the idea of establishing a temporary United Nations trusteeship for Palestine. President Truman issued a statement on March 25, 1948, in which he said:

This country vigorously supported the plan for partition with Economic Union recommended by UNSCOP and by GA. We have explored every possibility consistent with basic principles of Charter for giving effect to that solution. Unfortunately, it has become clear that the partition plan cannot be carried out at this time by peaceful means. We could not undertake to impose this solution on the people of Palestine by use of American troops, both on Charter grounds and as a matter of national policy.

During the war between the Palestinians and the Jews in Palestine after November 1947, the three Zionist terrorist gangs committed many massacres against the civilian Arab population. The most notable was the Massacre at Deir Yassin, a suburb of Jerusalem. Under the direct orders and supervision of Menachem Begin, 80% of the population of Deir Yassin, 300 men, women and children, were massacred. Begin's terrorists then herded the rest of the Arab population into trucks, and paraded them in Jerusalem to create panic amongst the Arab population. In this book, *The Revolt*, Menachem Begin admits that the objective of that massacre was to drive the Arab civilian population out of the Jewish state.

The Arab states of Syria, Egypt and Transjordan responded to the appeals of the Palestinians to send their armed forces to protect the Palestinians. Unfortunately, due to British influence on some Arab governments, the Arab war effort was sabotaged and the Jews remained in occupation of about 80% of Palestine. When the Armistice Agreements were signed between the illegal Zionist regime, called "Israel," and Egypt, Lebanon, Transjordan and Syria, the Zionist regime remained in occupation of 7,847 square miles. That was 78.47% of the area of Palestine. The Palestinians remained in control of 2,153 square miles—21.53% of the area. Transjordan unilaterally annexed the West Bank, and Egypt remained in control of the Gaza Strip.

The above indisputable facts prove that so-called "Israel" was established by genocide, by war crimes and crimes against humanity. Using invasion and conquest, European alien Jews violated not only the national integrity of Palestine, but also the human, civil, political and proprietary rights of the indigenous Muslim and Christian population of Palestine. The Palestinians were deprived of their rights to live in dignity and freedom as a people in their ancestral homeland, and were reduced to the status of an exiled nation, living in the misery of refugee camps. They were left looking for the day when they could return to their homes, properties and holy places, which they cherish more than life itself.

No people in the world today are subjected to the Nazi-racist criminal methods of humiliation, persecution, intimidation, oppression, exile, imprisonment, detention, robbery, murder and

annihilation except the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinians live in a concentration camp style. Palestinian families are being uprooted from their lands, rendered homeless, and Jewish colonies are established on these lands. Over 5,000 Palestinian young men and women are in prisons and camps, tortured and humiliated by Nazi-Zionist methods. Palestinian leaders are being exiled, tortured and humiliated. Palestinian men and women are being daily attacked or murdered by Jewish hooligans; university students are arrested, beaten, detained and universities closed down. Muslim holy places are being desecrated. Haram Sydna Ibrahim Alkhailil in Hebron has been turned into a synagogue. Excavations are being carried out under the Dome of the Rock, one of the holiest places of Islam, as a prelude to claiming the site for rebuilding the Jewish Temple.

Jerusalem Arab inhabitants are being forced to leave the Holy City. Arab lands in and around Jerusalem and in many parts of the West Bank are being usurped to build apartment buildings for Jews in order to complete the Judaization of the Holy City. The facist Zionist leaders are doing everything to complete the annexation and Judaization of the West Bank and Gaza. In February 1981, the Likud authorities and the zealots of Gush Emunim intensified their activities in usurping a great part of Palestinian lands in the West Bank and the establishment of more Jewish settlements with U.S. tax-free funds supplied by the Jewish Agency.

The Palestine Liberation Organization Is Not A Terrorist Organization

Mr. President, you made several statements during the election campaign and one statement after your inauguration describing the Palestine Liberation Organization as a terrorist organization. With all due respect, these statements are the result of slanted misinformation from Israeli and Zionist-Jewish sources. The official position of the United States regarding the PLO was established by Henry Kissinger in 1975, in a Memorandum of Agreement with Israel, which states: "The United States will not recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as the PLO does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not accept the Security Council's Resolutions 242 and 338."

This statement means that in order for the United States Government to negotiate with or recognize the PLO, the PLO must first recognize the Zionist conquest and occupation of 80% of Palestine, thereby legitimizing the illegal usurpation of the Palestine homeland and dropping all claims by Palestinians to their homes, lands, properties, their right to return to their homeland, and to live in freedom and dignity. For what? In order that the United States representatives talk to PLO representatives. This new

brand of United States diplomacy is immoral, unjust, and violates all principals of international law. It is typical of the crooked deals concocted by Dr. Henry Kissinger in connivance with Israel.

Dr. Kissinger is a Zionist agent and has dubious connections with international communism. By tying the hands of the United States, in agreements with Israel, Dr. Kissinger was not serving the best interests of the United States but only the interests of his Jewish nation.

The PLO is a Palestinian nationalist organization, composed of engineers, physicians, professors, teachers, businessmen and farmers. It is elected by the 450 members of the Palestine National Assembly, which is the Palestinian Parliament-in Exile. The Palestine Liberation Organization represents the Palestine Liberation movement, which is determined to free the Palestinians ancestral homeland from the military occupation of European and American Zionist Jews. The goal of the Palestine liberation movement is the restoration of the national and religious rights of the Palestine people to live in dignity and freedom in their ancestral homeland.

Right Of Palestinians To Resist Conquest And Occupation Of Their Homeland And Usurpation Of Their Rights

The people of Palestine are legally entitled to use force in self-defense, to liberate their country from Jewish occupation and subjugation. No one can deny the right of Palestinians presently living in exile, or under Jewish domination, to join the Palestine resistance movement and participate in the liberation of Palestine.

The principles of international law, and the principles of the United Nations Charter outlawed war, outlawed conquest and outlawed military occupations. Aggressive war has become a war crime, and therefore, resistance movements by the people of occupied territories against the aggressors are justified. A resistance movement is fully justified as a struggle by a people for self-preservation.

The resistance movements in the Soviet Union, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Malaya and Burma during the Second World War set the pattern for subjugated nations in their struggle for liberation from the yoke of foreign aggressors. During World War II, all the governments of the "United Nations" gave assistance and encouragement to resistance movements against the Axis aggressors.

The resolutions of the General Assembly in recent years support the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestine people for national liberation. By its resolution 2160 (XXI) of November 30, 1966, the General Assembly recognized "that peoples subjected

to colonial oppression are entitled to seek and receive all support in their struggle which is in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter." In paragraph B of that resolution, the General Assembly re-affirmed the following: "(B) Any forcible action, direct or indirect, which deprives peoples under foreign domination of their right to self-determination and freedom and independence, and of their right to determine freely their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development, constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, the use of force to deprive peoples of their national identity, as prohibited by the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States, and the Protection of Their Independence Sovereignty contained in General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX), constitutes a violation of their inalienable rights and of the principle of non-intervention."

Again, by its resolution 2440 (XXIII) of December 19, 1968, the General Assembly re-affirmed "its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle by the opponents of apartheid to realize their human rights and fundamental freedoms." By its resolution 2446 (XXIII) of the same date, the General Assembly confirmed "the views of the International Conference on Human Rights, held at Teheran, which recognized and vigorously supported the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples and patriotic liberation movements in Southern Africa and in colonial territories, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions." The United States voted in support of these resolutions.

Therefore, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as representative of the Palestine National Resistance Movement, is recognized as legitimate by international law.

It must be stated here, that under the order of the Palestine Liberation Organization, there are 50,000 Palestinian Freedom Fighters, who are Palestinian men and women born and raised in refugee camps. These young Palestinians are willing to sacrifice their lives in the cause of liberating their homeland, from which their parents were exiled. They are yearning for the day when they will return to the homes and lands of their parents in Palestine.

These men and women and leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization are not terrorists. They are freedom fighters like the patriots of the American Revolution. The Zionist propagandists keep reminding United States public opinion about Jewish women and children who lost their lives when Palestinian guerrillas took a school as a hostage in the settlement of Ma'alot. The Zionists hide the fact that the loss of life was the result of the storming of the building by Jewish armed forces who were mainly responsible for the tragedy which followed.

If the United States Government and politicians brand these incidents as terrorism, why do they not brand as terrorism the massacres of Palestinian and Lebanese women and children, who have been burnt by napalm and destroyed by fragmentation bombs dropped on them by Israelis, using United States airplanes in southern Lebanon? Over 100 such Israeli raids have been conducted since 1967 alone, and over 3,000 Palestinian and Lebanese men, women and children were murdered! Are Palestinian and Lebanese women and children human? Or, are only Jewish women and children human?

If the United States Administration and politicians want to be fair and evenhanded, they must brand Israeli political and military leaders as terrorists and war criminals. They invaded Palestine, occupied 80% of that country, expelled and exiled in 1948 more than 1,000,000 Palestinians and robbed them of their homes, properties and all their worldly belongings, and forced them to live in degradation and exile.

Messrs. Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir, Ariel Sharon, Moshe Dayan, Ezer Weizmann, Yigal Yadin, Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, and all the other political and military leaders of Israel are terrorists and war criminals. They were members of the three Zionist terrorist organizations, the Haganah, the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang, which committed terrorism and massacres against the British forces and the Palestinians from 1939 to 1948, such as the Deir Yassin massacre, and the blowing up of the King David Hotel and killing Palestinian men and women.

After the establishment of the so-called State of Israel, Zionist leaders used the armed forces to commit massacres against Palestinian villages throughout the country.

During the 1967 June war, Zionist leaders committed massacres, war crimes, and crimes against humanity against the Palestinian civilians in the occupied areas. The leaders of the Labor Government and the Likud Government sent American airplanes to bomb refugee camps and villages in Lebanon and killed thousands of Palestinian men, women and children.

Americans also became victims of Israeli war crimes when, in June 1967, Israeli airplanes bombed the U.S.S. Liberty which, at the same time, was being torpedoed by the Israeli navy. Forty-two Americans were killed, and 155 Americans were injured. The attack on the U.S.S. Liberty was premeditated with the object of preventing it from monitoring Israeli communications, which proved that Israel was the aggressor and started the 1967 war against Egypt.

Even today, Zionist leaders are continuing to commit war crimes and crimes against humanity in the occupied areas. They have turned the West Bank and Gaza into a concentration camp similar to what the Nazis did in Europe.

Zionist leaders in occupied Palestine are the terrorists. They are the War Criminals, and yet the United States treats them with respect and recognition, while they call the Palestine freedom fighters terrorists.

Lies Spread About The PLO

One of the biggest lies spread by Zionist propagandists to deceive and brainwash American politicians is that the Palestine Liberation Organization collaborates with the Soviet Union, and They say the PLO is financed and armed by the Soviet Union, and any Palestine state that may be established in the West Bank and Gaza will become a Soviet satellite.

These are Zionist fabrications and are made with the object of inciting hostility in the United States against the Palestinians. Not one single ruble is given by the Soviet Union to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The weapons used by the Palestine freedom fighters are either from European origin or Soviet origin. The Soviet weapons were bought by some Arab states, which delivered them to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The reason why Palestinians do not use American weapons is that the United States refuses to sell them these weapons, and Arab countries, buying American weapons, do not deliver these weapons to the Palestinians. If the United States is willing to sell weapons to the Palestinians they will be very glad to buy them at a high price, and not as military assistance—like that given to the Israeli invaders annually at the cost of \$2,000,000,000 to the American taxpayer.

Another lie spread by Zionist propagandists is that the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinians want to throw the Jews into the sea. According to Zionist logic, European and American Jews have the right to occupy Palestine, expel the Palestinians, and reduce them to a refugee nation, scattered throughout the Middle East, rob them of all their lands, homes and possessions, and the Palestinians have no right, even to return home or resist the invaders. Can the Zionists prove that a Palestinian expelled one Jew from his home? It is the Zionists who threw one million Palestinians into the desert in 1948, expelled many Palestinians after 1967, and now are endeavoring to Judaize the West Bank and Gaza and drive the 1,300,000 Palestinians out of these occupied territories.

What the Palestinians want is not to drive the Jews into the sea, but to return home and live in peace, dignity and freedom in their ancestral homeland. The Palestine Liberation Organization declared its plan for the establishment of a secular Palestine

state, where Palestinians of the Muslim, Christian and Jewish faiths can live as fellow citizens, without any discrimination on the ground of race or religion.

The Majority Of Palestinians Are Religious—Against Communism

The overwhelming majority of the Palestinians—Muslims, Christians and Jews are very religious and devout people, who take pride in the fact that their homeland is a Holy Land, every part of which was sanctified and blessed by all the prophets from Abraham to Jesus and Mohammed.

The Palestinians aspire to live as free people in a holy, democratic state, which will have no army, no navy or airforce. They aspire to restore their Holy Land to its status before Zionist occupation and desecration. The Holy Land must become again the land of serenity, peace, pilgrimage and worship. It is a negation of its sanctity, indeed it is a sacrilege to keep the Holy Land as an armed Zionist camp, with the ugly weapons of destruction bent on massacres, atrocities and war crimes.

The overwhelming majority of Palestinians are against atheism and communism as a philosophy or a way of life, and shall never allow their democratic state of the Holy Land to become a satellite of the Soviet Union or the United States or any other state.

Israel Is A Colonial, Racist, Military Regime Of Apartheid

It is often stated that Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East. What a farce of statement, to call such a racist regime a democracy, a regime established by genocide, a regime practicing discrimination against Oriental Jews and apartheid against the 700,000 Arabs, the indigenous population of the country, who chose to cling to their land, and who are living as second-class citizens with every type of persecution and oppression, known only in the annals of the Middle Ages! Even their children, who left the country to study abroad, are not permitted to come back, and if they go back to visit their families, they are subjected to such harassment as to force them to leave their country.

What kind of a democracy is this, which daily expels Palestinians and confiscates their homes and lands? What kind of democracy is this which is a state for Jews and only orthodox Jews? Reformed Jews are also discriminated against in this so-called democracy.

Israel is racist because it is built on Talmudic principles which

consider Jews as a superrace above all races and peoples. It is reactionary and racist because it maintains that "Israel" is a state for Jews only in accordance with the definition of Halacha, that is, strict Jewish Law. A Jew is defined as a person born of a Jewish mother or who was converted to Judaism in accordance with the strict Halacha rules. Consequently, there is no place for a Christian or a Muslim or a Hindu or a Buddhist or of any other religion.

"Israel is a testament to the inability of men to live together," wrote Look Magazine Senior Editor Robert Moskin, in an article entitled, "Prejudice in Israel," in *Look Magazine* of October 5, 1965.

The Council of the Sephardic Community of Jerusalem in 1965 published a booklet entitled "Danger: Jewish Racism," in which it explained the plight of the Oriental Jews in "Israel" and the discrimination and persecution they are subjected to by the European Ashkenazi Jews. It stated: "The oriental Jews are victims of racial attitudes, Ashkenazi nondemocracy, cultural genocide, discrimination in education, and appalling living conditions."

The orthodox Jews are the dominant sect in Israel. They persecute Reform and Conservative Jews. Reform and Conservative Jews are not permitted to have synagogues, or pray in public places in "Israel."

The political, legal, religious and social system in the "Jewish State" is based on racial and religious prejudice, discrimination and fanaticism. The "Jewish State" was created for a special class of Jews, namely the Ashkenazi Orthodox Jews.

Jewish fanaticism, prejudice and discrimination against Christians and Muslims stems from the teaching of the Talmud, which abhors Christianity and Islam. Christianity and Islam recognize the Old Testament and consider Bible prophets as their prophets and teach tolerance and neighborly treatment towards the Jews. The Talmud teaches Jew superiority and exclusivity. It teaches the theory of the "Jew-master-race." The "Jew-master-race" theory as practiced in Israel dictates that a pure "Jew race" of the Orthodox Jew sect must reign supreme in the "Jewish State" without being interfered with or defiled by the presence of the Goy (i.e., idolators or non-Jews), and without importing Reform and Conservative Judaism to "Israel."

Zionist racism in occupied Palestine is more extreme than Nazi racism. In Nazi Germany, marriage between Jews and non-Jews was not favored. In the Zionist regime in Palestine, such marriage is prohibited by law. Even marriage between Jews is prevented if the rabbis consider one of the parties is not allowed to marry.

In Nazi Germany, no Jew was prevented from owning or leasing property from a German. In racist occupied Palestine, no Jew

may sell or lease a property to a Palestinian or Muslim or Christian.

Palestinians are expelled from their homes, robbed of their properties, persecuted, segregated, and treated as second-class citizens. The following crimes and violations of human rights are committed by Israel against the Palestinians:

1. Collective and area punishment;
2. Deportation and expulsion;
3. Ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees;
4. Ill-treatment of civilians;
5. Destuction and demolition of houses and building;
6. Confiscation and expropriation of property;
7. Looting and pillage.

Some brainwashed United States politicians under the influence of Zionists usually state, "Israel is a state which shares with us the same values of morality and democracy." It is a degradation to the high moral Christian values of the United States to be compared to the fanatic Talmudic principles applied by the colonial, racist, military regime of apartheid which is ruled by terrorists and war criminals.

Israel Is A Financial Liability

The United States Administration is endeavoring to cut the United States budget to save billions of dollars from Social Security, medical aid and assistance to the poor. Instead of cutting these billions of dollars necessary for United States citizens, it would be more appropriate if the United States administration cut the \$7,000,000,000 which it is giving to Israel every year, either through government, military, economic and food aid, or through tax exemptions to Zionist-Jewish agencies which are collecting tax-free, tax-deductible funds and transferring them to Israel, to assist the Israeli government in perpetuating its occupation of the lands of the Palestinians.

If the United States will immediately stop giving Israel \$7 billion every year, it will not be obliged to make the following cuts in the budget, which was prepared by President Reagan:

- \$1.5 billion in child nutrition;
- \$1.2. billion in medical aid;
- \$1.2 billion in extended unemployment benefits;
- \$1.1 billion in social security minimum payments;
- \$ 803 million in student aid;
- \$ 550 million in disability insurance;
- \$ 172 million in cuts for arts and humanities;
- \$ 43 million in public broadcasting budget;
- \$ 238 million for youth conservation corps;
- \$ 220 million for vocational education

\$7.026 billions

Which is better for the U.S., to finance its social, educational and humanitarian services for its citizens, or to give military and economic assistance to war criminals, to assist them in perpetuating their crimes against the Palestinian people?

Senator Adlai Stevenson stated last year in a speech in the Senate that 71% of United States foreign aid is given to Israel and Egypt, to the detriment of the best interests of the United States. This demonstrates how Israel is a great financial liability to the United States, which is endangering the best interests and national security of the United States in other areas of the world. Instead of giving Israel and Egypt 71% of its foreign aid, the United States should allocate funds for Latin America and for Asia and Africa, which is being infiltrated by communist agents, to tear them away from the United States and the free world.

Israel is living, and completely dependent on U.S. economic assistance and on funds contributed by Jews from ten other countries. Its high foreign and internal debts make it a bankrupt regime. The high rate of inflation and unemployment, high taxation, the wave of immorality and crime, the corruption in the government and the armed services make this regime an unviable state. The uncertainty about the future resulted in a high rate of migration. There are at least 500,000 Israelis who fled the country to New York and California. Soviet Jewish immigrants, subsidized by \$15 million annually, refuse to go to Israel. So what is the justification for the U.S. squandering \$30,000,000,000 of official aid and more than \$30,000,000,000 from tax-exempt contributions to build a military racist regime after reducing the Palestinians to a refugee nation.

U.S. Has No Moral Commitment To Israel

It is often said that the United States has a moral commitment to the existence, survival and security of Israel. What kind of a moral commitment could there be for a state established by genocide, by expelling the indigenous population, robbing them of their homes and properties, and by establishing a fanatic, racist regime, which is worse than the apartheid regime in South Africa?

The United States has done all in its power—by word and by deed—to encourage the liquidation of colonialism, imperialism, and the subjugation and exploitation of the right of self-determination of peoples. The United States played a very important role in the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In view of these principles cherished by the United States, how could the United States consider it its moral obligation for the survival of a regime of aggression by European & American

Jews, who invaded Palestine, violated the territorial integrity of the country, occupied over 80% of Palestine, expelled over one million of its indigenous population, and, at present, occupies the rest of Palestine and wants to dictate its terms to determine the destiny of the population of the other 20%.

How can this great Christian nation aid and abet the Zionist world criminals to desecrate the Holy Land, turn it into an armed camp?

The Israel-Zionist Watergate

The foundation of the United States Government was shaken, the country experienced a political tremor, a president resigned, and many top government officials were sent to jail because of the scandal of Watergate. All these problems resulted from a simple "breaking-in" to the offices of the National Democratic Party, and an alleged cover-up by the President and his assistants of the said crime.

Israeli agents and Zionist Jews commit in the United States the most heinous crimes, defraud the Treasury of the United States with billions of dollars, and violate many United States laws. The FBI, the CIA and other United States intelligence agencies, the White House and many members of Congress, are all aware of these crimes against the national security of the United States, and yet no one dares to institute serious investigations or take steps to end these crimes and punish the perpetrators. This is, indeed, an Israeli-Zionist Watergate, more serious and catastrophic than the original American Watergate.

What are the elements of the Israeli-Zionist Watergate?

(1) Israeli agents stole 8,000 lbs. of weapon-grade uranium between 1957-1965 through the Nuclear Material and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC), formed by Zalman Shapiro. NUMEC agreed to serve as a "technical consultant, training and procurement agency" for Israel. It formed ISORAD, a subsidiary company half owned by the Israeli government. Through these two companies and Mr. Shapiro, Israeli agents were able to steal and smuggle out of the United States about 8,000 lbs. uranium, which enabled Israel to produce about 14 atomic bombs.

All investigations carried out by The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the CIA, the FBI and other government agencies proved the crime of Israeli agents. The facts were sent to President Lyndon B. Johnson, who ordered the cover-up of these crimes. All subsequent United States administrations were in possession of the facts, but nobody dared open this can of worms because politicians are afraid of Zionist revenge.

(2) Over thirty Zionist and Jewish political organizations obtained by fraud and deceit exemptions from income taxes and the deduction of contributions made to them from taxable income.

They have been collecting for the last thirty years over \$100,000,000 every year. They spend these fabulous amounts of tax-free, tax-deductible contributions for the following political purposes:

- a. For the control of the United States media of mass communications;
- b. For brainwashing the American people;
- c. For influencing United States elections;
- d. For influencing the United States administration and Congress;
- e. For threatening and blackmailing or economically and socially destroying any American citizen who dares criticize Israel;
- F. For a lobby in Washington for legislation to further the interests of Israel.

The following is a partial list of these organizations which defraud the Treasury of the United States:

B'Nai B'Rith, the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Conference of Presidents of Major American-Jewish Organizations, the Jewish Labor Committee, the National Conference of Soviet Jewry, the World Jewish Congress, the American Zionist Federation, the World Zionist Organization of America, the Zionist Organization of America.

The Internal Revenue Code entitles "Charitable Organizations" to such exemptions. "Charitable Organizations" are defined as religious and educational organizations, etc. Not one of the Zionist-Jewish organizations which obtained such exemptions is either religious or educational. They are nothing but political, using the fabulous amounts of contributions to dominate the political life of the United States and dictate American policy towards Israel.

(3) The United Jewish Appeal and the Israeli Bonds Organization: These two organizations were formed to collect funds for the State of Israel. The United Jewish Appeal collects every year between \$300,000,000 and \$500,000,000, and transfers the funds to the United Israel Appeal which, in turn, transfers these funds to the Jewish Agency Incorporated, American Section, (known also as the World Zionist Organization, American Section), which, in turn, transfers the money to the Jewish Agency, Israeli Section. The Land Settlement Department in the World Zionist Organization in Jerusalem plans and finances most of the Jewish settlements which were established in the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, which are considered illegal under international law, according to many resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly, and even according to the declarations of the successive United States administrations since 1967. American tax-free, tax-deductible funds, which are

collected for supposedly charitable purposes, are being used by Jews to rob the Palestinians of their lands, necessary for their livelihood, to establish Jewish settlements, and deprive the Palestinians of their livelihood.

The Israel Bond organization is collecting hundreds of millions of dollars in the United States in order to help and subsidize the illegal work of the Israeli government. According to legal technicalities worked out by the lawyers of this organization, all contributions to these bonds are deducted from United States income tax, thereby defrauding the Treasury of the United States. These facts are well known to many members of Congress; why, then, is no investigation made in Congress to expose this fraud? American Christian political organizations would never be able to get away with defrauding the Treasury of the United States in such a manner.

(4) Over 350 Zionist and Jewish organizations obtained tax exemptions and permits for deducting contributions to them from taxable income. They transmit the collected funds to organizations and institutions in Israel, amongst which are political parties, religious schools, the Israeli National Funds (which usurps Palestinian lands), labor organizations, etc. It is estimated that over \$500,000,000 are collected every year by these organizations.

United States citizens of Irish and Italian origin number more than 20 and 10 times respectively of Jewish citizens. They do not collect tax-free, tax-deductible funds to be transmitted to Ireland and Italy. If all different nationalities or religious minorities in the United States were allowed to defraud the United States Treasury in the manner in which it is being defrauded by the Zionist-Jewish minority, the United States would become bankrupt. How come only Jewish and Zionist organizations are able to get away with these illegalities and frauds? Who is responsible for this cover-up?

(5) The United States has given Israel the sum of \$24.5 billion in economic and military aid from 1949-1980, and \$3.4 billion in 1980. It gave Israel the most sophisticated military equipment in the United States arsenal. Israel used these weapons to launch wars of aggression against the Arab countries in 1967 and against Lebanon in 1978. Not one week passes without Israel sending American airplanes to kill men, women and children in southern Lebanon. Using United States weapons, supplied by military aid in such a manner, is a violation of United States laws. The United States successive administrations never enforced these laws against Israel and did nothing more than lodge a friendly reminder to Israeli authorities.

(6) The Mossad—the Israeli intelligence agency—is carrying out illegal and subversive activities against the Arab embassies

in Washington, and the Arab missions to the United Nations. It engaged in stealing and smuggling 8,000 lbs. of weapon-grade uranium. It collects secret information and steals technological secrets from United States companies. The United States intelligence agencies, the FBI, the White House, and some leading members of Congress are all aware of the Mossad activities in the United States, and nobody dares to investigate its activities.

The above crimes and cover-up are only a few of many of the crimes committed by Israel and Israeli agents in the United States. The cover-up by the successive United States administrations and members of Congress of these crimes is the greatest scandal in the history of the United States.

(7) There are in the United States over 50 Zionist and Jewish organizations which have branches and agents all over the United States, working for the State of Israel, for Israeli political parties, collecting money for Israel and pressuring the United States Administration and Congress under the instructions of the Israeli government and its Embassy in Washington. Each and all of these organizations, branches, and members are engaged in activities covered by the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and therefore they are under the legal obligation to register as foreign agents.

It will suffice to mention only a few of these organizations: the Presidents Conference (an organization consisting of presidents of 23 Zionist political organizations), the American-Israeli Public Relations Committee, the American Zionist Council, the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, the Jewish Agency for Israel, the American Jewish Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the Labor Zionist Organization of America, the United Jewish Appeal and the Zionist Organization of America.

Thousands of organizations carrying on activities in the United States on behalf of foreign principals are registered as foreign agents; only these Zionist and Jewish organizations consider themselves above the law, and they do not register. The Justice Department and the FBI are well aware of these facts and yet nobody dares to force these organizations and their members to register as foreign agents.

Israel Is Not A Fulfillment Of Prophecy

In order to justify their occupation of the homeland of the Palestinians, the Zionists brainwashed many people in the United States with many myths and fallacies. One of these myths is that Israel is the fulfillment of prophecy. It is deplorable that some Christian fundamentalists and missionaries, either because of self-interest, corruption, or Bible misinterpretation—propagate and promote this fallacy. The most no-

torious of these missionaries are Billy Graham and Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority, who knowingly perjure their souls in promoting this false teaching.

The Zionists claim that Jews are the Chosen People and God is repatriating his Chosen People to their Promised Land. Their interpretation of the Bible ignores the coming of Jesus Christ, and that these promises were fulfilled with the return of the Jews from Babylonian captivity. The Talmudist interpretation of the Old Testament ignores the New Testament and the Christian doctrine. The Talmudists claim that Biblical promises were given to Abraham and his seed, and that they are heirs to that promise. This statement ignores the fact that the Arabs are also the seed of Abraham. Moreover, it ignores the interpretation of St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians. In chapter 3, verse 14, St. Paul states: "That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith." In verse 16, St. Paul states: "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." St. Paul sums up the subject in verses 26-29, as follows: "For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, the heirs according to the promise."

It must be stated here that the Palestinians—Christians and Muslims—adore Jesus Christ. Jesus and His Mother are mentioned in many Suras of the Koran with great veneration. This is in contrast to Talmudist Jews, who are returning to "The Promised Land," who spout against Jesus and His venerated mother the worst calumnies.

Israel Is Not A Strategic Asset For The United States

Many American politicians are brainwashed by Zionist propagandists into thinking and stating "Israel is a strategic asset." A well-informed United States politician, who once was a member of the Cabinet and played many important roles in government, commented on this matter as follows: "I always think to myself, what will happen if I awake one morning and learn that Israel does not exist any more, due to a great earthquake? I do not think that this will matter to me or to anyone

in the United States. But what will happen if I awake one morning and I learn that Saudi Arabia has disappeared from the earth? I shall be, and every American will be extremely shaken, because the whole Western economy and Western civilization will be destroyed overnight." This statement in its simplicity demonstrates that it is the Arab world and not Israel which is the strategic asset for the United States.

The fallacy that Israel is a strategic asset has been promoted by certain retired United States officers who were, and are still, working for the Israeli lobby. They spread the lie that Israel is a strategic asset against Soviet ambitions to dominate the Middle East. Yet, it is the existence of an illegal and expansionist Israel that permits Soviet gains in the region.

The claim that Israel has "the best army in the world" is a piece of psychological war propaganda spread by the Zionists and their agents to prevent the Arabs from carrying out their military struggle against Israel. Let us examine the facts.

During the war between the Palestinians and the Zionist armed forces in 1947-48, the Palestinians won every battle against the Zionist armed forces, and they were in control of most of the country, in spite of the fact that Palestinians were ill-armed and ill-equipped. It was due to the military assistance of British forces and to the air-lifting of Soviet weapons to Tel Aviv by Czechoslovakia in 1948 that Zionist forces were able to commit massacres against Palestinians, drive over 1,000,000 Palestinians from their homes, and occupy 80% of Palestine.

In 1956, it was British and French armed forces which aided and abetted Israeli forces to occupy the Sinai Peninsula.

In 1967, Egypt was not prepared for war. President Gamal Abdul Nasser moved his forces as a propaganda ploy to pressure President Lyndon B. Johnson to renew the economic aid agreement with Egypt. The Zionists pressured President Johnson to refuse to renew the economic aid to Egypt in order to arouse Gamal Abdul Nasser. The Zionists were predicting the steps which Abdul Nasser would take as a bluff and were preparing to launch their attack to crush Egypt's military power before the Egyptians perfected their training on the use of Soviet weapons. At the same time, the Zionists were executing their plan of expansion, to occupy the West Bank and Gaza and other parts of the Arab world, in accordance with the Zionist colonial program. Israel was planning its attack while Abdul Nasser was being lulled into slumber by American and Soviet intelligence agencies, each one for its own motives.

The proof that Egypt was not prepared or preparing for war is the fact that, in the evening of June 4, 1967, a party was held

for the airforce graduates in Anshas (former Farouk palace and gardens), where practically every important officer in the Egyptian airforce and all its commanders were present in that party until the early hours of the morning of June 5, when the Israelis attacked at 4 a.m. According to unimpeachable evidence in our possession, Egyptian agents of the Israeli intelligence were able to put LSD in the drinks and coffee served to most important officers and top command of the Egyptian airforce. When Israeli airplanes struck at 4 a.m. on the morning of June 5, most of the Egyptian airforce officers were asleep and incapacitated by LSD.

We have also unimpeachable evidence that the Israeli airplanes dropped LSD-25, a nerve gas, on Egyptian forces in Sinai and on Egyptian military airports, and were able to incapacitate the Egyptian armed forces. These facts prove that the Israeli armed forces won the 1967 war by deception, conspiracy, and using the LSD-25 nerve gas. This does not make the Israeli army "the best in the world."

During the first stage of the 1973 war, Israeli armed forces in the Sinai and the Golan Heights were defeated, and Israel would have been completely defeated had it not been for the United States' intervention due to the efforts of the Zionist fanatic, Dr. Henry Kissinger, who was instrumental in airlifting to Israel most of the military equipment and ammunition.

In a memorandum prepared by Dr. Kissinger about a meeting he had with Jewish leaders in the Hotel Pierre, New York on June 15, 1975, Dr. Kissinger reveals the following:

- a. The United States saved Israel from collapse at the end of the first week (of the 1973 war) by our arms supply.
- b. What was our strategy in 1973? First, we sought to break the Arab united front. Also we wanted to ensure that the Europeans and Japanese did not get involved in the diplomacy; and of course we wanted to keep the Soviets out of the diplomatic arena. Finally, we sought a situation which would enable Israel to deal separately with each of its neighbors.
- c. What we wanted was the most massive Arab defeat possible so that it would be clear to the Arabs that they would get nowhere with dependence on the Soviets.

We maintain that Israel is nothing but a paper tiger. This military reputation, as having the best army in the world, is nothing but a piece of psychological warfare propaganda. It is true that the United States supplied Israel with large arsenals of ultra-modern military weapons, but this does not make Israel invincible. It is also true that the Israeli airforce has the most modern American bombers and fighters, equipped with the most sophisticated electronic weapon systems and countermeasures. This makes Israel more effective against the inferior Syrian,

Egyptian and Jordanian bombers and fighters, with no sophisticated electronic weapon systems. Both the Soviet Union and the United States deny Arab countries the most modern airplanes and weapon systems. These facts do not credit the Israeli airforce with excellence per se, because the battle is not between equals and is only between a small cannon and a missile.

The production of atomic weapons by Israel was not the result of its technology. The French built the atomic reactor in Dimona in 1956 in exchange for Israel's giving the French government the secrets of the atomic bomb, stolen by American Jewish scientists and delivered to David Ben-Gurion. Shimon Peres, as envoy of Ben-Gurion, played an important role in the secret negotiations with France.

From 1957-1965, Israeli agents stole from United States atomic plants 8,000 lbs. of weapon-grade uranium. Israeli agents hijacked a ship in Europe with a great load of enriched uranium. These facts prove that Israel became a member of the atomic club, not because of its advanced technology, but because of stealing, smuggling and piracy.

The technological base of Israel is built by European and American Jews who steal technological secrets from the United States and Europe and give them gratis to their coreligionists in Israel.

What do the Zionist propagandists and U.S. politicians mean by stating that "Israel is a strategic asset"? Do American politicians who promote this fallacy really believe that Israel will be able to assist the United States in defeating the Soviet Union in the Middle East? Or do they plan to use Israel in wars against the Arab states? Or do they intend to execute the conspiracy advocated by Zionist writers in the United States and promoted by Zionist propagandists on radio and television to launch a war and occupy the Arab oilfields in order to solve the energy crises? If United States politicians dare to implement any of these reckless Zionist plans (promoted by Israel and its agents), they will be destroying American interests in the Middle East and leading the western world into a catastrophe. The only beneficiary of such foolish, reckless acts will be the Soviet Union.

We maintain that Israel is not an asset. It is nothing but a strategic liability. If United States Middle East policy continues to be dictated by Israel, the United States one day will be forced to choose between Israel on the one hand and the Arab and Muslim world on the other. The result for the United States is very obvious.

The Palestinians are not deceived or taken in by the psychological warfare propaganda that the "Israeli army is the best

in the world." The Palestinian freedom fighters, with inferior weapons, met the Israeli army in Jordan in 1969-70, and in southern Lebanon in 1978, and inflicted on that "invincible and best army in the world" great defeats in many battles, when the Israeli army withdrew frantically, carrying with it hundreds of its casualties.

The Palestinians are determined one day to enter into decisive battle with that "invincible army" when they are able to obtain at least similar weapons.

Israelis believe that having 14 or 15 atomic weapons is a guarantee of their security. This is the reason for their bombastic arrogance and defiance, but it is a short-sighted and a catastrophic attitude.

Some Arab states and even the Palestinians may soon be in possession of nuclear weapons. It would take only one atomic bomb to destroy Israel, but it would take more than 100 atomic bombs to destroy the Arab world. By foolishly introducing atomic weapons in the Middle East by thievery, smuggling and piracy, the Israelis are only dooming themselves and not the Arab countries.

The United States Cannot Afford To Ignore The Resolutions Adopted In The Third Summit Conference

The third Islamic Summit Conference was held in Holy Mecca, Saudi Arabia, on the 25-28 January, 1981, under the motto: The Session of Palestine and Holy Jerusalem. The Conference was attended by the heads of 38 Muslim states and their assistants, and adopted *inter alia*, the following important important resolutions:

1. Holy Jerusalem: The program of basic action to confront the Zionist enemy: the commitment to the liberation of Arab Jerusalem to make it the capital of the Palestinian state and the call on all states of the world to respect the UN resolutions against dealings with the Israeli occupation authorities, which would give those authorities an excuse to say that such dealings were an implied recognition or an acceptance of the *fait accompli* which they imposed by declaring Jerusalem a united capital of "the Zionist entity."

The conference decided to use all economic potentials and natural resources of the Islamic states to weaken the Israeli economy and halt the financial, economic and political backing which Israel is obtaining, and to work to change the international political stances in favor of the Palestinian people and to back the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

2. The question of Palestine and the Middle East: the conference decided to consider the question of Palestine as the core of the problem of the Middle East and number one issue of the Islamic nation. It affirms the commitment to liberate all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, to refuse to accept any situation that would encroach on the Arab sovereignty of the holy city of Jerusalem and not to allow any Arab or Islamic side to resort alone to solve the Palestinian question and the issues of the occupied Arab territories.

It affirmed that just peace in the Middle East region cannot possibly be established except on the basis of Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the Palestinian people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent state on the land of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO.

It decided to continue resisting the Camp David agreement and to consider Security Council Resolution 242 as inconsistent with the Palestinian and the Arab rights and as not forming a suitable basis for solving the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine.

It decided that the Islamic states will be committed to the use of all their military, political, and economic potentials and natural resources, including oil, as an effective means to back the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation and in order to confront the states which back the Zionist entity militarily, economically and politically. It called on the EEC states to fulfill their undertakings not to put into effect their economic bilateral and collective agreements with Israel on the occupied Palestinian Arab territories.

The Conference also adopted the Mecca Declaration, which Stated:

Realizing that Muslims are, in the world of today, being subjected to many injustices and surrounded by various threats due to a logic of force and aggression, and to an intensification of the use of violence in international relations; and knowing that Islam permits to those who believe in it and to others only right and justice, and offers to those who do not fight us in our religion who do not drive us out from our homes and do not violate our sanctities only piety and fairness; and as Islam does not believe in compunction toward the unrighteous and in acceptance of injustice and oppression, we reaffirm in the face of Zionist aggression that has usurped the land of Palestine and the other occupied territories our determination to counter this aggression, its schemes and practices with a comprehensive resistance. We also reject and denounce the policies which make this aggression possible and which extend to it political and economic aid, manpower and military aid.

We also reject any initiative that does not adopt the Palestinian option, which consists in a just settlement to the Palestinian question based on the reestablishment of the unquestionable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return, to self-determination and to set up an independent Palestinian state on its national territory, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative.

We also reject any attempt to put pressure on us or on any other state of the world in order to accept a *fait accompli* and a capitulation to unjust solutions.

We assert our determination to confront aggression and pressures by all means and to make preparations for a jihad for the liberation of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the sanctities and for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people which have been asserted by the international legality and by the UN resolutions connected with the question of Palestine.

We consider the provocations committed against the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem and the transgressions on the Islamic and Christian sanctities in occupied Palestine and on the religious and inalienable national rights of the people of Palestine and the continuation of transgression represented in the decisions to annex Jerusalem and to usurp it from its lawful owners as grave reasons that prompt us to adopt a firm stand to reject this transgression and to condemn those who support it and to stand in the face of everyone who condones it or recognizes it.

Therefore we pledge a jihad with the means we possess for the liberation of Jerusalem and to make this liberation, the principle Islamic issue, the responsibility of this generation of our nation, so that, with God's help, Jerusalem will be liberated together with the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and returned to their lawful owners.

We wish to draw the United States' attention to the following paragraph of the Resolution of the Islamic Summit Conference:

It decided that the Islamic states will be committed to the use of all their military, political, and economic potentials and natural resources, including oil, as an effective means to back the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation in order to confront the states which back the Zionist entity militarily, economically and politically. It called on the EEC states to fulfill their undertakings not to put into effect their economic bilateral and collective agreements with Israel on the occupied Palestinian Arab territories.

Should the United States continue the one-sided policy dictated by the Israeli-Zionist lobby, it would find itself in confrontation with the Arab world and the Muslim world, both of which are under the obligation to use their military, political and economic potential and national resources, including oil, to confront the states which back up the Zionist state militarily, economically and politically, and that means the United States of America.

In using their economic resources and potentials as a weapon, the Arab and Muslim states will be taking a page from the United

States book. They will be following the United States' example, which used and is using its military, political, economic potential and natural resources as instruments of its foreign policy. For instance:

1. U.S. grain embargo against the Soviet Union;
2. U.S. economic boycott of Cuba;
3. U.S. has consistently used the policy of supplying arms, either by sales or grants, as means of furthering its national security;
4. U.S. refused to sell arms to a state on the ground that the human rights record of that state did not meet White House or State Department standards, or that a state's politics are not enough in agreement with American positions. (Of course, Israel has always been excluded from these restrictions.);
5. Turkey suffered an American arms embargo for three years because of its action in Cyprus;
6. Placing restrictions on the use of the Hawk missiles by Jordan, and refusing to sell Jordan certain weapons because Jordan does not support the Camp David Agreement;
7. Argentina was suspended from U.S. military sales in 1978 because of U.S. opposition to its Human Rights policy;
8. Guatemala, El Salvador, Somoza's Nicaragua, and now revolutionary Nicaragua were denied U.S. weapons;
9. Both Uruguay and Chile have been denied even basic police weapons;
10. U.S. pressured France and West Germany for supplying Brazil with nuclear equipment and technology;
11. U.S. has pressured France to prevent her from supplying Iraq or Pakistan with nuclear equipment or technology;
12. U.S. reduced economic and military aid to Pakistan to prevent that country from developing its nuclear capability;
13. U.S. denied delivering to Libya the C-130 transport planes which were bought and paid for because Libya supports the Palestinians and other liberation movements;
14. U.S. influenced the Export-Import Bank and the World Bank to reduce or deny funds to countries in political disagreement with the U.S.;
15. The entire concept of most favored nation treatment is to reward those countries favorable to the U.S.A. or to influence them to do or not to do certain things.

Should the Arab and Muslim states apply United States standards of policy and precedents against the United States because of its support for Israel, they may adopt a resolution to implement the resolutions of the Islamic Conference and may tell the United States as follows:

We call upon the United States to stop helping Israel economically, militarily and politically, thereby aiding and abetting Israel

in its illegal occupation of Arab lands and the usurpation of the homeland and rights of the Palestine people, and we call upon the United States to cooperate in the United Nations to pressure Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and to resolve the Palestine problem according to the principles of international law and justice.

Should the United States refuse to cooperate in finding a permanent and just solution for the Palestine problem and the Middle East problem, the Arab and Muslim states shall do the following:

1. Reduce their joint production of oil by 10,000,000 bbls/day;
2. Stop supporting the United States dollar and cease buying U.S. Treasury bonds;
3. Impose an oil embargo against the United States;
4. Declare an economic boycott of the United States by ceasing to buy any United States equipment and products, and to cancel all contracts with the United States companies.

What shall the United States do if it were to be confronted in such a manner by the Arab and Muslim states? Will it declare war on the Arab and Islamic states? Would it use Israeli armed forces (as many Zionist leaders urge on American politicians in private) to occupy the Arab oilfields? Would the United States carry out such reckless, mad plans? or would the United States act as a responsible, honorable leader of the Free World and protect its best interests and national security by taking the following course:

1. End its isolation with Israel in the United Nations;
2. Uphold the principles of international law, morality and justice, and stop supporting the illegal and immoral Zionist conquest and occupation of the homeland of the Palestinians;
3. Declare its evenhandedness and stop all sales of arms and the giving of economic aid to Israel, Jordan, Syria and Egypt, the belligerent opponents in the Middle East;
4. Join hands with the 110 United Nations members which support the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people to solve the Palestine problem in accordance with international law and justice, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Should the United States take the latter course, it will win the friendship, support and alliance of the Arab and Muslim world and it will serve the best interests and national security of the United States. By adopting such a position, the United States will restore itself to the position of respect and leadership of the Free World and the United Nations instead of being isolated in the United Nations with Israel. Furthermore, the United States will win the support of the overwhelming number of United Nations members against Soviet subversion, expansion

and aggression, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The United States will then win the economic cooperation of the Arab world and Muslim world, which may lead to the solution of the key economic problems of the Western world.

More importantly, however, the United States will be restored to its traditional position as the champion of self-determination thereby making America a true leader of the Free World in the battle against the international communist conspiracy.

How Can The United States Assist In Establishing A Just And Permanent Peace In The Middle East?

The key to peace in the Middle East is in the hands of the United States, which must act justly in accordance with its legal and moral obligations under international law, the United Nations Charter and the principles it has always cherished and adopted in its foreign policy, namely, upholding the following:

- 1) The principle of self-determination of peoples;
- 2) That the occupation or acquisition of territory obtained through conquest by force of non-pacific means shall not be valid or have any legal effect. The pledge of non-recognition of situations arising from the forgoing conditions is an obligation which cannot be avoided, either unilaterally or collectively;
- 3) That no people have any right to commit genocide against other people, expel them from their homeland, rob them of their homes, properties and all their worldly belongings and violate their inalienable rights;
- 4) Promotion and respect for human rights.

A Plan For Peace

1. The United States should issue a statement under the title DECLARATION OF PEACE FOR THE MIDDLE PEACE, stating the following:

- a. That it is important for the well-being, safety and future of the peoples of the Middle East to put an end to all belligerent acts and wars and establish permanent peace based on justice and the right of self-determination of peoples and respect for the inalienable rights and human rights of all the peoples in the area;
- b. That peace in the Middle East will serve the best interests of not only the peoples of the area but of all freedom-loving peoples throughout the world, and will serve the cause of international peace and security as prescribed by the United Nations Charter;

c. As a first step towards peace, the United States shall follow an even-handed policy in the Middle East, based on the following principles:

- 1) Complete neutrality;
- 2) Suspension of all military sales and military shipments for 36 months to the belligerent states in the Middle East, namely, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon;
- 3) Suspension of all economic aid to the above-named countries for the same period of 36 months, except for humanitarian causes.

2. The United States should consult with the other four permanent members of the Security Council and request a Special Session to implement a Middle East peace plan on the following lines:

- a. The Security Council must obtain a declaration from Israel, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon undertaking to stop all military and paramilitary actions or threats of such actions against each other for a period of 36 months;
- b. The Security Council should follow the precedent adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly in 1957 by calling upon Israel to unconditionally withdraw all its armed forces from all the areas it occupied in 1967, namely, the Sanai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza.

This action by the Security Council is in conformity with what President Eisenhower laid down as the rule of law in such a situation. He stated in his speech in 1957 the following: "Israel seeks something more. It insists on firm guarantees as a condition of withdrawing its forces of invasion. This raises a question of principle. Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal? If the United Nations once admits that international disputes can be settled by using force, then we will have destroyed the very foundation of the organization and our best hope of establishing a world order."

This declaration of international law by the President of the United States in 1957 makes the Camp David Agreement between Israel and Egypt null and void. President Carter imposed that agreement on Egypt by undue influence in violation of the sovereignty of Egypt. Egypt was forced to submit to conditions which violate its traditions, its principles, its best interests and its sovereignty, and allowed Israel to continue the occupation of some parts of Sanai until 1982. All these conditions are null and void, and therefore Israel must immediately and completely withdraw from the territory of Egypt:
c. Immediately after Israel withdraws its forces to the borders of June 4, 1967, the Security Council shall appoint a commission composed of six members of the Security Council and

the Holy See to be named THE PALESTINE PEACE COMMISSION, and entrusted with the task of finding a solution to the Palestine problem within six months;

d. The Palestine Peace Commission shall ascertain the wishes of the Palestinian Jews and Palestinian Arabs about the following matters:

- 1) Can the Palestinian Arabs and Palestinian Jews live together in the Holy Land state which shall be:
 - a) A unitary state?; or
 - b) A state of federal cantons, as in Switzerland?
- 2) How can Palestine be made again the Holy Land of Peace, open for the pilgrimage of peoples of all faiths?
- 3) How can the Palestine refugees return home and take possession of their homes and properties in Palestine?
- 4) How can Muslims, Jews and Christians live peacefully as fellow citizens in the Holy Land state, with dignity, with human rights and with freedom for all?
- 5) Whether the Holy Land state and Jordan should enter into a federation or a confederation?

After the Palestine Peace Commission submits its report and recommendations to the Security Council, and a solution is approved, it must be enforced by the force of world public opinion and through the powers entrusted to the United Nations Security Council.

This is the only road to a permanent, just and workable peace in Palestine and the Middle East. All attempts to perpetuate the present situation established by war and conquest and injustice will only lead to more wars and bloodshed. All proposals to confirm the *fait accompli* of Israeli occupation of any part of the Arab territories, provide security guarantees for the Israeli occupiers, and postpone a just solution of the Palestine problem in all its aspects will only postpone the decisive bloody battle between Jews and Arabs, which may lead to a nuclear holocaust.

No solution can be just or permanent if it fails to redress the injustice committed against the Palestinians. Palestine Arabs and Palestine Jews must live as fellow citizens in a Holy Land of peace which should become "a beacon light" for all the civilized world.

The Inside Story of the Hess Flight

ANONYMOUS

On 10 May 1941, Rudolf Hess made his daring flight from Germany to Britain in a vain bid to stop the tragic conflict between two nations he admired and loved. When Hitler's Deputy parachuted to earth from a Messerschmitt fighter over south Scotland, Germany and Britain had already been at war with each other for twenty months.

It is well known that Hess made this unprecedeted move to impress on Britain's war leaders just how earnestly Germany desired peace. But even after the passage of forty years, much about the famous episode remains shrouded in mystery. The biggest question is whether Hitler knew in advance about the flight. Did he even order Hess on this mission of peace, as some insist? We cannot be sure if Hess would reveal the truth if he could. His ardent loyalty to Hitler might keep him from telling the whole story even if he were able. The truth may not be known until the secret British government documents on the matter are one day finally removed from the closed archives and made available to the world in uncensored form.

Still, there is strong evidence that Hess risked his life for peace under orders from Adolf Hitler himself. In its issue of May 1943, the American Mercury published "The Inside Story of the Hess Flight," a remarkable article which self-assuredly reported that the flight was personally directed by Hitler and completely expected by the British.

In 1943 the American Mercury was a popular, highly successful and very "establishment" monthly. It was quite different from the

iconoclastic journal that H. L. Mencken had founded and edited many years before.

Although the article on the Hess flight appeared anonymously, the magazine's editors vouched for its accuracy: "The writer, a highly reputable observer, is known to us and we publish this article with full faith in its sources." The Reader's Digest published a condensed version of the piece in its July 1943 issue and likewise declared it accurate: "According to Allan A. Michie, The Reader's Digest's London correspondent, this account of the Hess flight corresponds to the version accepted by well-informed journalists in Britain."

Written in the midst of war, the author's bellicose joy at the failure of the Hess peace venture may appear regrettable and even contemptible today. Still, the information it contains (if correct) puts both Germany and Britain in a very different light than the one originally intended by the author. Because of its unquestionable historical importance, this article deserves serious consideration today.

—Mark Weber

I

Why Rudolf Hess took the sky road to Scotland has never been revealed officially, principally because two leaders of Allied strategy, Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, believed at the time that no useful purpose could be served by the telling. Hess was consigned to the limbo of hush-hush and all attempts to probe the craziest episode of the war were resolutely suppressed.

Today, two years after, many Englishmen and a few Americans know exactly why Hess came to England, and most of those in possession of the true story feel that it should now be told. For one thing, it would place before critics of Anglo-American policy towards Soviet Russia the vital and silencing fact that at a difficult moment, when he might have withdrawn his country from the war at Russia's expense, Churchill pledged Britain to continue fighting as a full ally of the newest victim of Nazi duplicity. There would have been some semblance of poetic justice to such a withdrawal—was it not Stalin who set the war in motion by signing a friendship pact with Hitler in 1939? But the British Prime Minister never even considered such action.

A few details are still unclear—only British Intelligence and several top-flight officials know them; a few facts must still be

kept dark for reasons of policy. But the essential story can be safely, and usefully, told. It makes one of the most fascinating tales of superintrigue in the annals of international relations. It adds up to a supreme British coup that must have shattered the pride of the Nazis in their diplomacy and their Secret Service. In that domain, it is fair to say, the Hess incident is a defeat equivalent to Stalingrad in the military domain.

Rudolf Hess did not "escape" from Germany. He came as a winged messenger of peace, and no Parsifal in shining armor was ever more rigorously and loyally consecrated to his mission. He came not only with Adolf Hitler's blessing, but upon Hitler's explicit orders. Far from being a surprise, the arrival of Hess was expected by a limited number of Britishers, the outlines of his mission were known in advance, and the Nazi leader actually had an RAF escort in the final stage of his air journey.

On the basis of reliable information since obtained from German sources and from indications given by Hess himself, it is possible to reconstruct the situation in Berlin that led to the mad Hess undertaking.

By the beginning of 1941 Hitler, in disregard of the advice of some of his generals, had decided that he could no longer put off his "holy war" against Russia. The attempt to knock out the Western democracies before turning to the East had failed. The alternative was an understanding with Great Britain which would leave Germany free to concentrate everything against Russia—a return, in some measure, to the basis of co-operation set up in Munich. Whatever Chamberlain and Daladier may have thought, the Germans had interpreted the Munich deal as a *carte blanche* for Nazi domination of Eastern Europe. The Allied guarantees to Poland and Rumania thereafter and their declaration of war, were indignantly denounced in Berlin as a democratic double-cross.

Hitler put out a tentative feeler in January 1941 in the form of an inquiry regarding the British attitude towards possible direct negotiations. It was not directed to the British Government but to a group of influential Britishers, among them the Duke of Hamilton, who belonged to the since discredited Anglo-German Fellowship Association. An internationally known diplomat served as courier. In the course of time a reply arrived in Berlin expressing limited interest and asking for more information. Tidiously, cautiously, without either side quite revealing its hand, a plan was developed. When the German proposal of negotiations on neutral soil was rejected, Berlin countered with an offer to send a delegate to England. After all, had not Chamberlain flown to Germany?

A delegate was selected—Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, Gauleiter of all Germans abroad. Handsome, South African-born, Cambridge-

educated Willi Bohle was actually a British subject, though his passport was considerably out of date, and he seemed ideally suited for the mission. Several important foreign journalists in Berlin were let in on the secret that Bohle was being groomed for a very big and mysterious job abroad, and the story was planted in Turkish and South American papers to test British reaction. When weeks passed and the British press did not pick up the story, thus indicating an indifference to Bohle, Berlin became worried.

It was then that the Führer came through with one of his "geniale" ideas. Bohle was not the right man, he said. He did not have the national stature to impress the British. A really big Nazi would have to go, one whose name was inseparably linked with Hitler himself and whose presence could not possibly fail to command attention. He must be one, said Hitler, who would represent the "goodness" of the German race, one whose sincerity was unquestionable. What is more, he must be able to speak officially for the German Government and to give binding commitments on the behalf of the Führer. Providence, Hitler pointed out, had given Germany just the man—Walter Richard Rudolf Hess, Nazi Number Three, who in addition to fulfilling the other qualifications had grown up in the English quarter of Alexandria, spoke fluent English and "understood the British mind."

After Hitler transmitted his supreme and final offer—to send his own Deputy and closest friend directly to England—there was a long delay in replying. Possibly the imperturbable British required some time to recover from their astonishment. But finally Adolf's intuition was justified—an acceptance of the proposal came through, details were arranged, and on May 10 Hess flew into the twilight.

Four months of intricate negotiations had preceded the flight. The Germans had pushed their proposal in the name of peace and Nordic friendship. Their British "friends" were co-operative without being too eager or too optimistic—there was no use overlooking the difficulties. As was only natural, progress was made slowly; there were ups and downs in the fortunes of the enterprise.

II

The one thing the Germans did not know was that they were negotiating with agents of the British Secret Service using the names—and the handwriting—of the Duke of Hamilton and other gentry of the Anglo-German Fellowship Association! The fact is that the initial communication, in January, brought personally by an eminent diplomat, never reached its destination, having been intercepted by the Secret Service. From then on the corre-

spondence was handled entirely by astute British agents. Replies designed to whet the German appetite, replies encouraging the supposition that Britain was seeking a way out of its military difficulties, were sent to Berlin. The hook was carefully baited that caught the third largest fish in the Nazi lake.

It was perhaps his perverted love of Wagnerian contrast that led Hitler to choose the night of his Deputy's fateful flight for unloading five hundred tons of noisy death on London.

That night the subterranean plotting room of the RAF Fighter Command was static with activity. The heaviest Nazi bomber force ever sent to Britain was pounding the capital, and new waves of planes were crossing the coast every fifteen minutes. When a report from an outlying radiolocation station on the Scottish coast announced the approach of an unidentified plane, the receiving operator at Fighter Command checked it off as "one of ours" and promptly forgot it. On the tail of the first report came a second: the plane had failed to identify itself properly and its speed indicated that it was a fighter. Methodically, as one immune to surprises, the operator sent his flash to the plotting room and a hostile plane was pinpointed far up on the eastern coast of Scotland with an arrow to indicate that it was moving west.

By now inland stations were also picking up the mystery plane, obviously a fighter from its speed, although Scotland was far beyond the normal cruising range of any fighter. Consulted, the commanding officer at Fighter Command reacted in a manner that Fighter Command personnel still discuss with varying degrees of puzzlement. "For God's sake," he is reported to have shouted, "Tell them not to shoot him down!" In a matter of seconds a fighter station in Scotland received a flash and two Hurricanes took off to trail the mystery plane with orders to force it down but under no conditions to shoot at it. While the small red arrows on the plotting table crept across Scotland, high officers at Fighter Command watched with absorbed interest. Near the tiny village of Paisley, almost on the west coast, they stopped. "Made it," the commanding officer is reported to have grunted. "Thank God, he's down!"

In Lanarkshire, Scotland, David McLean, a farmer, watched a figure parachute into his field, and by the time the man had disentangled himself from the shrouds of his parachute, Farmer McLean was standing over him with a pitchfork. "Are ye a Nazi enemy, or are ye one o' ours?" he asked. "Not Nazi enemy; British friend," the man replied with some difficulty because he had wrenching his ankle and was in extreme pain. Helped into the farmer's kitchen, he announced that his name was Alfred Horn and that he had come to see the Duke of Hamilton, laird of the great Dungavel estate ten miles away. The man talked freely, and

to local Home Guardsmen Jack Paterson and Robert Gibson, who had arrived in the meantime, he admitted that he had come from Germany and was hunting the private aerodrome on Hamilton's estate when his fuel gave out and he had to bail out. "My name is Alfred Horn," he repeated frequently as though seeking recognition. "Please tell the Duke of Hamilton I have arrived."

With their instinctive distrust of aristocracy, the canny Scots became suspicious of the whole situation, and the parachutist was bundled off to the local Home Guard headquarters, where an excited, argumentative crowd soon gathered. Meanwhile, a kind of official reception committee composed of Military Intelligence officers and Secret Service agents was waiting at the private aerodrome on the Hamilton estate. The forced landing ten miles from the prearranged rendezvous was the only hitch in the plan. It was the hitch, presumably, which broke to the whole world sensational news which otherwise might have been kept on ice for a while if not for the duration.

When the "reception committee" heard of the accident and finally found their visitor, he was being guarded by over a dozen defiant Home Guardsmen who were determined not to relinquish him. It took lengthy assurances that the man would remain safe in their custody, plus the arrival of Army reinforcements under instructions to co-operate with the "committee," to persuade the Guardsmen to give up their prisoner.

Still declaring that his name was Alfred Horn, Hess was placed in a military motorcar and driven to Maryhill Barracks near Glasgow. There he changed his story. "I have come to save humanity," he said. "I am Rudolf Hess." And he indicated that his visit was being expected by influential Englishmen—a statement that was truer than he as yet suspected. His identity checked, Hess was taken to a military hospital to have his ankle treated, and with a Scots Guardsman on duty outside his door, spent his first night in the British Isles.

In the village of Paisley and many other parts of the Highlands, Scotsmen divided into factions—Scots nationalists and British loyalists, royalists and socialists—and throughout that night and for several days broke heads and knuckles over the issue of the German who came to Scotland. The loyalists and socialists suspected that either the Scots nationalists or royalists had been guilty of some treasonable skullduggery.

Hess passed a good night, and when his nurse brought breakfast on a tray the next morning at 8 a.m. he reminded her that on the continent one breakfasted later. She left the tray and departed, while he went back to sleep. When she returned at nine for the tray, the breakfast had not been touched, so she removed it, with the result that Hess spent his first morning in Britain without breakfast. Thereafter he breakfasted at eight.

Hitler's friend and deputy had come prepared for an indirect approach to the British Government through the Anglo-German Fellowship Association, to which a surprising number of prominent Britons adhered before the war. The actual approach, as planned by Winston Churchill, was exceedingly direct. Ivone Kirkpatrick, an astute super-spy in World War I and Councillor at the Berlin Embassy during the intervening years, flew to Scotland to receive the Hess plan for direct transmission to the British Government. Even Hitler could have asked no greater co-operation. Despite the absence of the Duke of Hamilton, Hess at this stage was still convinced that he was dealing with the Fellowship intermediaries.

It was to Kirkpatrick that the Nazi first poured out the details of Hitler's armistice and peace proposals. He was enthusiastic and voluble—the stenographic report filled many notebooks. And he was most optimistic, since he was fully convinced that Britain was licked, knew it, and must therefore welcome the Führer's generous offer of amity. His tone throughout was that of a munificent enemy offering a reprieve to a foe whose doom was otherwise sealed.

III

The terms of Hitler's peace proposal have been discussed up and down England not only in well-informed political circles but in pubs, bomb shelters and Pall Mall clubs. It was too elaborate a secret to be kept. Cabinet members presumably told their friends in Parliament and the MP's told their club colleagues and the news percolated down. The filter of time, plus such cross-checking as is possible on a subject that is officially taboo, enables the writer to give the general outline, withholding details.

Hitler offered total cessation of the war in the West. Germany would evacuate all of France except Alsace and Lorraine, which would remain German. It would evacuate Holland and Belgium, retaining Luxembourg. It would evacuate Norway and Denmark. In short, Hitler offered to withdraw from Western Europe, except for the two French provinces and Luxembourg, in return for which Great Britain would agree to assume an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards Germany as it unfolded its plans in Eastern Europe. In addition, the Führer was ready to withdraw from Yugoslavia and Greece. German troops would be evacuated from the Mediterranean generally and Hitler would use his good offices to arrange a settlement of the Mediterranean conflict between Britain and Italy. No belligerent or neutral country would be entitled to demand reparations from any other country, he specified.

The proposal contained many other points, including plans for

plebiscites and population exchanges where these might be necessitated by shifts in population that has resulted from the military action in Western Europe and the Balkans. But the versions circulating in authoritative circles all agree on the basic points outlined above.

In a prepared preamble, Hess explained the importance of Hitler's Eastern mission "to save humanity," and indicated how perfectly the whole arrangement would work out for Britain and France, not only from the ideological and security angles but also commercially. Germany, he pointed out, would take the full production of the Allied war industries until they could be converted to a peacetime basis, thus preventing economic depression. As Hess and his Führer saw it, England and France would become, in effect, the arsenals of free capitalism against Asiatic communism. The actual slaying of the Bolshevik dragon Hitler reserved for Germany alone, so that by this act he could convince a doubting world of his benevolent intentions. Hess gave no information on the military plans for Eastern Europe and would not be drawn out on that point, since it was a problem for Germany alone.

For two days Hitler's emissary unfolded his proposals and Churchill's amanuensis made notes. Hess was certain his plan would be accepted; it is characteristic of German thinking that it never foresees the possibility of another point of view. He emphasized that his Leader would not quibble over details—Britain could practically write its own peace terms. Hitler was only eager, as a humanitarian, to stop the "senseless war" with a brother nation and thus incidentally guarantee supplies and safeguard his rear while fighting in the East.

With the prepared plan and the emissary's annotations in his notebooks, Kirkpatrick went to 10 Downing Street. The plan was communicated to Washington for an opinion, and the President, of course, confirmed the Prime Minister's decision. The answer would be a flat "No," but the two statesmen are reported to have agreed that open discussion of such a sensational offer would be undesirable at that time. They decided that the insanity explanation fed to the German people would also suffice for the rest of the world. Unlike the Germans and some Americans, no single Britisher believed a word of that story. Both London and Washington made repeated efforts to warn Russia of the coming German blows. The Russian leaders would not believe it—or pretended not to believe it—and certain Soviet diplomats insisted that the warnings were democratic "tricks" until the actual invasion took place.

Hess was not told of Churchill's decision and was permitted to assume that his proposals were under ardent discussion. At the hospital he rested easily and talked freely with his doctor, nurses

and guards. He was tolerant and friendly until his doctor one morning made a typical British comment on Adolf Hitler. Hess thereupon staged a scene and remained surly and sulking for a week. When he was able to walk, he was flown to London, where he talked to Lord Beaverbrook, Alfred Duff Cooper and other government leaders. But Churchill refused his repeated requests for a meeting.

Only after he had talked himself out and could provide no further useful information, was Hess informed that his plan had been entirely rejected and that Britain was already Russia's ally. By that time he was aware, too, that the negotiations which preceded his flight had short-circuited the Fellowship crowd —neither Hamilton nor any of the others had known anything about the Hess visit until all of England knew it. Hess's shock and dismay resulted in a minor nervous breakdown, so that for a while the Nazi lie about his insanity came near being true. The news of the sinking of the *Bismarck* shook Hess so that he wept for an entire day.

Hess demanded that he be sent back to Germany, because, having come as an emissary, he was entitled to safe return. The British Government reasoned differently—after all, he came as an emissary to private individuals, not to the Government directly—and he became a special prisoner of war. He spends his existence in the manor house of a large English estate, with considerable freedom of movement on the well guarded grounds. His appetite is reported to be good. He spends most of his time reading German classics and perfecting his English. A bookdealer in London recently wrote to several of his customers who had purchased German books from him, inquiring whether they would care to resell them to another client: the client's name was given as Walter R. R. Hess.

This was not the first time England reduced a German stronghold by audacious Secret Service work. It was reported unofficially in Berlin that the *Graf Spee* was scuttled on orders sent over Admiral Raeder's signature by the cloak-and-dagger experts in the British Secret Service. Whether there is any truth to that or not, there is no doubt that when the whole story can be told the achievements of that Secret Service will astound the world. And the Hess episode is certain to stand out with a glory all its own among them.

Thomas E. Watson Revisited

THOMAS HENRY IRWIN

Tom Watson made his debut in politics on 6 August 1880 at the age of twenty-three. The speech Watson delivered to the Democratic nominating convention at Atlanta on that date split the ranks of the party and provided Georgians with a choice of two gubernatorial candidates for the first time since the Civil War. Watson opposed the renomination of Alfred H. Colquitt who, together with Joseph E. Brown and General John B. Gordon, made up the "Bourbon Triumvirate." They dominated Georgia politics between 1872 and 1890 as the representatives of industrial capitalism. The press and the financial interests of the state launched a vigorous campaign in Colquitt's defense. The forces of agrarian unrest that Watson verbally cited, met with resounding defeat.

Henry W. Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, was the major apologist for monopoly capitalism and corporate power. Watson was one of the few men willing to speak out against the oppressive system that Grady so enthusiastically advocated:

We are told in the splendid phraseology of silver-tongued orators from the city, that our country is absolutely smothered under the plenteous flow of milk and honey of another Canaan There is no romance in having landed property excluded from the banks, and in having twenty-five per cent upon money; no romance in being fleeced by a fifty per cent tariff; no romance in seeing other classes and other properties exempted from taxation, and realizing fabulous dividends upon their investments, when the lands are taxed to their uttermost dollar and farming has paid no dividend since the war.

In 1882 Watson was elected to the Georgia Legislature from his home county of McDuffie. He struggled unsuccessfully to curb the abuses of the powerful railroad corporations. A bill subjecting railroads to county property taxes was voted down after U.S. Senator Brown offered to provide the legislators with round-trip train fares to the Louisville Exposition. Watson resigned his seat and returned to the practice of law before his term expired. Watson declared:

In the tremendous oppressiveness of the System, the chief factor of cruelty, greed, corruption and robbery is the Corporation These Corporations are the Feudal Barons of this Century. Their Directors live in lordly Palaces and Castles, Their Yachts are on the sea; their Parlor Cars on the rails. They spread feasts that would feed a starving factory town The markets of the world have been clutched by the throat (in violation of Law) and the price of every commodity taken away from competition and given to the Trust. Small dealers everywhere, in everything, exist at the pleasure of the large dealer. The individual sinks before the Corporation. The man goes down under the blows of the "Ring." Money:—combined the Court, the Church, the Legislature, the Editorial Room, the State, the School, the Home!

The Farmers' Alliance began recruiting in Georgia during March, 1887; within three years it had grown to a membership of over 1,000. The Alliance sought to organize the farmer against the forces of exploitation which had driven him into virtual peonage. Watson noted that "while every avocation has its advocates and champions in positions of power and importance, the farmer is practically unrepresented. The entire drift of legislation has been, and is yet, continuously and persistently against him." He was one of the first politicians to join with the Alliance in resisting the depredations of ruling cliques like the Bourbon Triumvirate.

Watson established his reputation as a reformer during the summer of 1888. He writes:

A trust had been formed in St. Louis to control the price of jutebagging, the necessary cover of the cotton bale. Day after day the price was pushed up, as we have seen done in so many other cases Heartily in sympathy with the producers, I at once wrote the call for the mass-meeting; and on the appointed day, the building was packed with excited humanity.

He urged the farmers to take independent action in the form of a boycott: "It is useless to ask Congress to help us, just as it was folly for our forefathers to ask for relief from the tea tax; and as they revolted . . . so should we The Standard of Revolt is up. Let us keep it up and speed it on." In 1889 the farmers' boycott forced the jute trust to come to terms.

Watson declared himself a candidate for the House of Representatives in the 1890 election. He ran on the St. Louis platform adopted by the Alliance the previous December, which demanded "the abolition of National Banks," "the free and unlimited coinage of Silver," "the passage of laws prohibiting the alien ownership of Land," "that taxation, National or State, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another," "Economy . . . in the expenditures of the Government," and "that the Government shall own and operate the means of Transportation and Communication." The last plank was viewed as the only way to limit the rapine of the railroads.

George T. Barnes, who made his career as a vassal of the Bourbon financial lords, was the incumbent. The Augusta Chronicle and other representatives of the "kept press" attempted to thwart Watson's efforts by claiming, "There is really no issue between Mr. Barnes and Mr. Watson except that Mr. Barnes is in and Mr. Watson wishes to be." The situation was, however, soon to be reversed in accordance with Watson's adage that "the new wine of reform is not to be placed in the old bottles of ring politicians."

Watson wrote: "The politicians laughed at you; but when your opponent came home from Washington to meet you in debate before the mass-meetings throughout the district, lo! the people were with you, and your triumph at the polls was unprecedented in your state." The Alliance candidates met with statewide victory.

In May 1891, the organizational framework for the Alliance's political wing, the People's Party, was laid. Often called the Populist Party, it gave the common man a voice in politics. Then, Watson writes, "the Farmers' Alliance held a great national convention at Indianapolis and instructed those men who had been elected by Alliance votes to stand firm for the principles, regardless of the dictation of party caucus." A referendum demon-

strated that Watson's district supported him in his intention to abide by the Indianapolis resolution.

Henry Grady sought "to bring peace between the agricultural and commercial interests of the state." His Constitution trumpeted, "The Farmers' Alliance is the Democratic party." Such rejoicing was, of course, insincere. The Bourbons were only trying to lure the newly elected Alliance representatives into collusion with the "Old Regime" and turn them against their constituents. Leonidas F. Livingston, President of the State Alliance and one of the six Georgia Congressmen sent to Washington on the wave of the farmers' revolt, was the most prominent defector.

Watson recalled: "Your political party, which in convention after convention had adopted your platform, suddenly changed front and denounced those principles. What were you to do? You decided that principles were dearer than party, and you stood by your principles." Shortly after Congress convened in December 1891, he refused to support the Democratic candidate for Speaker, and instead caucused with a group of Midwestern Alliance Congressmen. They nominated Watson for Speaker. His weekly *People's Party Paper*, launched during the fall of 1891, declared, "so was formed the first distinctive political body known as the People's Party." Livingston had joined the Democratic caucus.

While serving in Congress, Watson attempted to secure homestead land loans as a way of benefitting the independent farmer and increasing the middle class. He contended that:

Any system which increases the Moneyed Class where there is all money and no work, debauches Society. Any system which increases the class where there is all work and no money debauches and endangers Society. Any system that will add to the great Middle Class where there is reasonable work and fair reward, secures to Society the best results of which humanity is capable.

A bill to create an income tax was proposed in Congress by Watson. Though he thought that such a tax would relieve the middle class of its oppressive tax burden, it was turned to the exact opposite use when later adopted. "Now who is left to pay the Federal taxes?", he asked. "The plain people, unorganized, unprotected, absolutely helpless. They are bled on the one hand by the Federal government and by the Privileged Classes on the other." He observed, "How much more bitterly must these burdens be resented when the citizens who pay such taxes are aware of the fact that those who are making profits are exempted from tax." The Federal Government, according to Watson, was "The most extravagant Government the world ever saw, and getting more so every year." Protesting that "taxes are unequally distributed, and prodigally spent," he added, "it is a cruelty to the negro, as well as an injustice to the whites, to tax the latter to give 'higher education' to the former."

Maintaining that "Under Tariff Systems a tax is laid upon every article the laborer uses and the proceeds put into the pocket of his employer," Watson proposed removing the custom duties from a number of materials used in farming. "In other words," he wrote, "these high duties on foreign goods have for their real purpose the devilish plundering of the common people by the trusts. They hold us up, all along the line, and we are forced to pay what they charge." Watson did not oppose all tariffs, but felt they were being abused in the interest of monopoly capitalists.

Only one of Watson's Populist legislative proposals was ratified by Congress. According to his biographer, William W. Brewton, by this proposal "he did more constructive good to the class he represented than all his colleagues from Georgia in the 52nd Congress, with all those that have succeeded them, combined, have done." On 17 February 1893, Watson proposed an appropriation "for experimental free delivery in absolutely rural communities . . . amongst the farmers, in those neighborhoods where they do not get their mail more than once every two weeks, and where those deserving people have settled in communities one hundred years old and do not receive a newspaper that is not two weeks behind the times." Brewton writes that "there has never been an appropriation made which yielded so great a return in general benefit to the nation as that for rural free delivery." Later, with the addition of parcel post, rural families could shop by mail. Large mail-order houses developed that catered to the needs of farmers.

In 1916, Watson reflected on his refusal to attend a caucus with the Democrats:

A similar course was pursued by Senator Robert L. La Follette, three years ago, and the logic of his position was universally admitted . . . But in my case it was different. A storm of abuse broke over my head, and I was held up to scorn, ridicule, hatred—called a Traitor, and accused of selling out to the Republicans.

While Watson was fighting for the people during his first session in Congress, the Establishment politicians were fighting Watson. When he returned to Georgia in 1892 to seek re-election, his congressional district had been gerrymandered to include two new counties. Watson christened his campaign a contest between "Democracy and Plutocracy," and ran as a Populist. General Gordon, a member of the Bourbon Triumvirate that Watson had opposed since his first days in politics, described him as "base," "false," "cowardly," and a "self-important little fly." Perhaps gadfly, in the Socratic sense, would have been a more apt designation.

Governor William J. Northern, a pawn of Eastern financial interests, was heard to say that, "Watson ought to be killed and

it ought to have been done long ago." An assassination attempt occurred while Watson was delivering a speech in a rural county. He later surveyed the election's outcome: "The counties voted for me as before; but, in the City of Augusta, votes were repeated, by gangs of hired negroes, until there were 18,000 votes in the boxes, when the whole list of voters numbered only 12,000. In this fraudulent way, I was driven out of Congress."

By the 1894 Congressional campaign, Grover Cleveland's reactionary financial policies and the Panic of 1893 had fanned the flames of agrarian rebellion. Watson charged that "The bankers opposed silver, and, for the purpose of having the law providing its issue repealed, they precipitated the panic." The "Alliance Democrats," like Livingston, had helped elect Cleveland President.

C. Vann Woodward, another Watson biographer, relates that his attempt to win back his seat "was not so much a campaign as a crusade, for the people did not listen so much as participate. The contemporary accounts of the enthusiasm evoked by the speeches of Watson border on the incredible." But enthusiasm could not triumph over what Woodward describes as "wholesale repeating, bribery, ballot-box stuffing, voting of minors, and intimidation." Bourbon tactics had been so blatantly unfair that a new election was held; but the same corrupt practices once again prevailed. Watson relates: "Three times I renewed the struggle; three times the same methods were used against me; and then I quit—broken in purse, in energy, in spirit, and almost in mind."

All of the Cleveland administration's groveling devotion to corporate and banking interests could not save it from another sort of insolvency—that of the political kind. Cleveland was not renominated for a second term. Instead, the 1896 Democratic National Convention chose William Jennings Bryan in an attempt to subvert the People's Party and turn the tide of Populism to its own advantage. The Vice-Presidential candidate, Arthur Sewall, was proof that the Democrats had adopted only the rhetoric of reform. The president of both a bank and trust, he was known for his exploitative labor policies.

The People's Party held its Convention in July. Senator Sam K. Jones, Chairman of the Democratic National Convention, attended in hope of persuading the Populists to nominate the Democratic ticket. Watson cautioned that "the party had proven its insincerity, and you will get nothing at its hands nor will your principles." Jones made representations to the Populist leaders that if they would endorse a Bryan-Watson candidacy, the Democrats would drop Sewell and do the same. The Populists did their part, but a few days after the Convention Jones wrote: "Mr. Sewall will, of course, remain on the ticket, and Mr. Watson can do what he likes."

Though Bryan was unable to free the nation from a "cross of gold," his campaign nailed the People's Party to one of silver. He virtually ignored the Populist principles verbalized in the 1889 St. Louis platform. Recognizing the propaganda value of simplistic appeals for free silver, he held this measure out as a cure for the country's ills.

Watson alerted the Populists to Bryan's silver demagoguery, writing that "certain wire-pullers in Washington were scheming to side-track the People's Party by having it surrender all of its platform excepting the Free Silver Plank." He proposed free silver as a remedy for the artificially high dollar, created by a corner on the gold market. However, he knew that any metal, including silver, could be similarly misused when given an inherent value.

Watson wrote: "To say that a Government promise or pledge is without value unless redeemed in Gold or Silver is a vicious heresy." Pointing out that "money is a mere product of agreement, convention, law," Watson attacked the "money-changers who use the coin fetish to hypnotize and plunder the nations of the earth." He added, "This tyranny of the banker is world-wide He first chains the nations to the word 'coin';— then he gets his grip on the supply of 'coin';— thus he holds the chain which fetters the globe."

Seeking to end the dominance of money over government, Watson proclaimed that "We stand for the principle that the government should create the money and distribute it." He warned that "in abdicating in favor of six thousand national bankers the sovereign power of creating money, the government has surrendered a power infinitely more precious than that of regulating foreign commerce."

Watson maintained that:

There can never be too much Money in circulation as long as each dollar afloat is the result of that much produce. There will never be enough Money afloat as long as Commodities suffer because there is no Money to effect their ready exchange. A Currency System should be flexible; that is, the supply should increase as the demand increases and diminish as the demand ceases.

Such flexibility, he thought, would ensure stable prices.

"To smash the Money Trust, whose monstrous rapacity preys on every Nation," Watson counselled that

it is but necessary that the state shall assert its inherent power to create its own currency. A dollar, whether in metal or paper, should be inscribed, "This Dollar." That declaration, and the law which makes a dollar a legal tender for debts, are sufficient Absolutely nothing more is necessary to make that currency as good and as strong as the Government which creates it.

Although the Populists had been betrayed, Watson did his best to gain support for his party's ticket. He campaigned throughout the West, even in Bryan's home state of Nebraska; this brought Bryan his only victory there during his three unsuccessful bids for the Presidency. Yet Bryan refused to associate himself with Watson, and never joined him on the speaker's platform. Theodore Roosevelt commented, "Mr. Watson really ought to be the first man on the ticket, with Mr. Bryan second; for he is much the superior in boldness, in thorough-going acceptance of his principles according to their logical conclusions, and in sincerity of faith."

Looking back, Watson wrote that:

the Democrats lost the race because they violated the St. Louis compact . . . Had the Democratic leaders furnished . . . ever so small portion of the "rising above party," Bryan would have been elected. But they thought they could swallow us in the West, and crush us in the South, and they sacrificed Bryan in the effort to destroy Populism. They destroyed Populism as an organization.

Politically, Watson was ruined: He writes,

Then you shut the world out of your life; buried yourself to all but the very few; called around you the companionship of Great Authors . . . And then . . . you reached out for your pen and wrote. Ah, how your heart did forget its own troubles, in that work!

During 1889 his two-volume work, *The Story of France*, appeared. The New York Evening Journal called it "the best history ever written by an American." Watson published a biography of Napoleon in 1902, and one of Jefferson in 1903. The historical novel *Bethany: A Story of the Old South* appeared in 1904. That same year Watson was offered the editorship of William Randolph Hearst's *Morning American* on the condition that he move to New York. He chose to remain at Hickory Hill, his estate in Thomson, Georgia.

From Hickory Hill he embarked on a journalistic career that brought his political philosophy to the attention of the South and the entire nation. He founded the monthly *Watson's Magazine* in 1905, which was supplemented by the *Weekly Jeffersonian* in 1906. These publications were in the vanguard of the fight for Jeffersonian democracy. Watson contended that "all the upholders of class rule go back to Hamilton; all the upholders of a government of the people, by and for the people, get their creed, so far as this Republic is concerned, from Jefferson."

The March 1906 issue of *Watson's Magazine* thundered, "The Wall Street Railroad Kings rule and rob our state, and they do it by means of the men who control the machinery of the Democratic party. Hoke Smith is leading a great revolt against this Wall

Street domination, and he is doing it superbly. He is going to win, because the people know he is right." With these words Watson renewed the struggle against Georgia's aristocracy, which he had begun in 1882, by supporting a county railroad tax. Hoke Smith, an anticorporation lawyer, was his standard-bearer in the 1906 gubernatorial contest. Together they wrote a Democratic platform that included many Populist demands. An article by Herbert Quick in *The Reader* described it as "the most radical platform ever adopted, with perhaps one exception, by a state convention of either of the two great parties of these times." Watson dubbed Smith's opponent, Clark Howell, "the Corporation Candidate for Governor."

Regarding the constitutional amendment to disfranchise blacks that he and Smith proposed, Watson wrote, "The people of Georgia are hell-bent on smashing that Wall Street ring which rules and robs our state. They are determined to put White Supremacy INTO LAW, so that they shall never again be vexed or intimidated by the scare of Negro domination." He noted that "In Georgia they do not dare to disfranchise him, because the men who control the Democratic machine in Georgia know that a majority of whites are against them. They need the negro to beat us with."

We have studied this problem from all points of view," Watson reasoned,

and our matured conviction is that the only salvation for the negro in America is the acceptance, in good faith, of his legal rights as the full measure of what is due him. The sooner he abandons his attempt to share political power and privileges with the whites, the better for him We made civilization; the negro never made this, or any other. He has degraded every governmental system that he has been allowed to influence. As a duty to our forefathers, to ourselves, and our posterity, we must see to it that the negro makes no Haitian hell of the United States.

Smith was elected Governor by an overwhelming majority. The Bourbon dynasty had come to an end. Under Watson's guidance, Smith increased the railroad commission in size and importance. A special State's Attorney was appointed to prosecute corporations that violated its rulings. The small businessman and the farmer were no longer subjected to exorbitant freight charges and other unfair practices. Steps were taken to end corporate bribes. Quick placed Smith "second only to La Follette, if second to any, as a trustbusting governor." *The Independent* ran an article entitled "Georgia's Example to the Nation."

Between 1906 and 1917 Watson was the dominant force in Georgia politics. By rallying his Populist followers behind him, he was able to exercise a decisive influence on many election cam-

paigns. Most successful gubernatorial candidates began their quest for office by seeking endorsement from the "Sage of Hickory Hill," as he was now called. Some were undone when they deviated from the Populist principles Watson was pledged to.

Since Watson was not himself a candidate for office, he was able to devote much time to his journalistic and literary efforts. In his two periodicals, often referred to as the *Jeffersonians*, he continued to espouse the tenets of the Populist creed. Historical works still flowed from his pen. *Sketches from Roman History*, written from an agrarian perspective instead of the usual imperial one, appeared in 1908. *History of Southern Oratory* was published in 1909. A study of the battle of Waterloo followed in 1910. In 1912 came his biography of Jackson.

Watson's political philosophy was based on a commitment to popular democracy and individual rights; on this basis he defended the states against the encroachments of the Federal Government. He warned: "The national character of the Federal Government becomes more pronounced, from year to year, and the federated idea grows more shadowy and feeble." He observed that "the Constitution was never even voted on 'by the people of the United States.' It was voted on by each state, acting separately, in conventions and legislatures." He criticized men who were "lacking in faith in the people, and wanted the strongest possible concentration of power in the Federal Government." "The irony of fate has willed," wrote Watson, "that these tremendous advances in centralization have been made, mostly, at the instance of fanatical 'reformers,' who didn't care two buttons about the ultimate consequences to our mixed system of government."

Watson told a group of supporters:

Under our present system of Government, through the representative, it is practically impossible for you to keep up with what is going on. The newspapers won't always tell you the truth . . . To a large extent, our daily papers, especially, are controlled by corporate interests, who want legislation in their favor at your expense. There are some things you cannot get a chance to say in these newspapers. When they have got something especially unjust to put through, that is the very thing that is put through on the sly, and you will learn about it when it is too late.

Watson proposed the system of initiative, referendum, and recall as a remedy for legislative abuses. He reminded his listeners, "You exercise self-government through the men you choose to represent you. They are not free agents. They are not at liberty to follow their own personal inclinations, and give way to their personal prejudices." Regarding the initiative, he said, "Send around a petition, demanding the passage of this, that and the other law, and see who will sign it. When that petition is signed by a

representative percentage of the people, then it ought to be made the duty of the legislature to put that law upon its passage." While discussing the referendum, he told his audience: "The legislature, the town council, the Congress, whenever it passes any kind of law, ought to refer it back to you, and ask you, Do you approve of this? You are the man who has got to obey it, and you are . . . the man who will have to pay these salaries and these taxes and conform to these regulations." Explaining the recall, he said, "You vote a judge in office, why shouldn't you have the right to vote him out of office, if you find he isn't the man you thought he was? Why keep him two years or four years? . . . The same with Congressmen, Senators, Governors."

Watson opposed "Our American Judicial Oligarchy," writing that:

The construction given to the general welfare clause, and the elastic quality of the implied powers (in the Constitution), have enabled the Government to adopt almost any sort of law the old lawyers on the Supreme Bench consider desirable. In the last resort, therefore, our laws depend upon the will of nine men chosen from one profession. These nine Supreme Legislators are usually the graduates of corporation law offices, foisted upon the people by partisan Presidents.

Federal judges, who were corporation lawyers before they became Judges, are halting the sovereign States, reducing them to the station of mere private trespassers, and retaining them, by ever-ready injunction, from the exercise of governmental powers. Insolent corporations and usurping judiciary are moving step by step to a situation which a free people cannot endure.

Watson vigorously defended Populism against socialism in the Jeffersonians. He pointed out that "no Socialist experiment ever succeeded." "In spite of all the terrible abuses which prevail in Europe and America," he wrote, "the non-capitalistic nations are the backward nations . . . Turkey, India and China cannot be called the victims of Capitalism; but we wouldn't exchange places and conditions with them. Capitalism itself, is enormously advantageous, when Special Privilege is driven out."

Concerning collective ownership, he wrote: "and it is because I have been a laborer, know the feelings of a laborer, and always expect to keep in touch and sympathy with the real laborer, that I stand so stoutly for the doctrine that the best reward and highest honor Labor can attain is the ownership and enjoyment of what it produces." He contrasted the Populist and socialist views of property: "The Jeffersonian Democrat says, 'Destroy Special Privilege; make the laws conform to the rule of Equal Rights to all, and you will put it in the power of every industrious man to own his

home.' The Socialist says, 'Let Society own the homes, and let Society move the man about, from house to house, according to the pleasure of Society.'"

To the advocates of "Marxist democracy," Watson replied that "where Socialism prevails . . . they propose to give their men such a power over the lives and the labor of their fellow men as was never before proposed in the annals of the human race." Regarding socialist demands for reform, he argued: "The Discontent is warranted, but the remedy would substitute one slavery for another." "It can be shown," Watson wrote, "that all abuses at which the Socialist justly rails,—grow out of violations of the principles of our system. The true remedy therefore is to vigorously assert those principles."

Watson's mocking reply to egalitarianism was, "Even human nature is going to lose its meanness, for Socialism is going to make Man after its own image, to replace the Man that God made." Watson appraised human nature more realistically, writing that "No matter how equal material conditions might be made today by legislation, the inherent inequality in the capacities of men, physically, mentally, spiritually, would evolve differences tomorrow. There is no such thing as equality among men, and no law will ever give it to them."

Watson's remarks about socialism and immigration apply well to today's invading Third World legions:

When a few million immigrants who haven't been here long enough to get the foreign twist out of their tongues, go to parading the streets, carrying the Red Flag . . . it is not a theory that makes them do it. No theory could convince the intelligence of these newly-arrived foreigners that they have any natural right to a share in the wealth they find here. They are governed by their passions, not their reason. It is cupidity that controls them, not altruism. They care no more about the fine-spun theories of Karl Marx than Alaric and Attila cared for the Justinian Code or the Nicene Creed.

Watson knew that the international banking establishment was as much a threat to American liberties as socialism. "Take the Rothschild family for an example," he wrote.

Theirs is a typical case. Study it a moment. A small Jewish dealer and money-lender in Frankfort is chosen by a rascally ruler of one of the German States as a go-between in a villainous transaction whereby the little German ruler sells his subjects into military service to the King of England. These soldiers, who were bought, are known to history as the Hessians, and they fought against us in the Revolution. This was the beginning of the Rothschild fortune, the transaction having been very profitable to the Rothschild who managed it.

He continued,

By the time Napoleon was overthrown at Waterloo, the Rothschild family had become so rich and strong that it spread over the European world. One member of the family took England, another France, another Austria, another Belgium, the parent house remaining in Germany, and to this day the Rothschild family is the dominant financial influence of the European world. In other words, by the power of money and the power of usury, they were able to make a partition of Europe and they are more truly the rulers of nations than are the Hapsburgs, the Hollenzollerns, the Romanoffs or any other one dynasty which wields the sceptre.

The Sage of Hickory Hill fought the tyranny of international bankers with the Jeffersonian creed:

We Jeffersonians stand for the doctrine that the world's stock of wealth and of opportunity belongs to all mankind—to be won or lost on the basis of merit or demerit The holder of wealth has no right to legislate his fortune out of the reach of the risks and changes of legitimate business. He has no right to legislate his wealth into a mortgage upon the revenue of the government and the annual produce of all labor. He has no right to legislate special favors to himself, whereby enormous accumulations are held together, not by force of energy, industry and superior ability, but by reason of the special privileges and exemptions created by law.

In 1914, at the outbreak of World War I, Tom Watson took up the most important struggle of his political career. He did battle with the forces of internationalism and militarism that were to plunge our country into war and threaten its sovereignty afterwards with the League of Nations. Woodrow Wilson led these forces in an attempt to subjugate and plunder the American people.

Wilson was re-elected on the slogan, "He kept us out of War." Watson commented, "What war? Where did we have a chance to get in one? What did he do to keep us 'out'? We had no cause to go in." During the election campaign Wilson had advocated military preparedness as the best guarantee of peace. Watson saw that Wilson's "preparedness" was only a guise for militarism and denounced "the insane notion that belligerence of attitude and conduct lead to peace." He wrote that "big armaments, instead of insuring PEACE, insure WAR."

"Is it worth while to remind our public servants in Washington," Watson asked, "that this Constitution does not authorize or contemplate any other kind of war, except one for self-defense?" He scouted Wilson's "Hun" propaganda and advised nonintervention:

It is absurd to say we are menaced by German danger. Germany cannot send troops here The Law of Nations and our own common sense, tell us that what England, France, and Germany do to each other is none of our business. It is not cause for us to send a million of our boys, to sacrifice their lives, so far from home.

Exposing what he termed Wilson's "sham neutrality," Watson said, "If we have loaned money to England and France to help make war, we have not been neutral. We are still doing it—the liberty Bonds prove it. J.P. Morgan cleaned up ninety million dollars as part of his share." He identified the real forces behind the interventionists: "'The world must be made safe for democracy,' said our sweetly sincere President; what he meant was, that the huge investment, which our Blood-Gorged Capitalists made in French, Italian, Russian and English paper, must be made safe. Where Morgan's money went, your boys' must go, ELSE MORGAN WILL LOSE HIS MONEY."

On 18 August 1917 Watson brought a test case before Federal Court, challenging the constitutionality of Wilson's Conscription Act. In his "Speech Against the Conscription Act," delivered during June of that year, he asked, "How does the Conscription Law, rushed upon the people by Congress, in April, 1917, accord with the time-honored principles of Magna Charta, as embodied in the Bill of Rights of every State, and as crystalized in the Constitution of the United States?" A candidate for Congress in Iowa was sentenced to ten years in the Federal Penitentiary for publishing and distributing excerpts from Watson's address.

It seemed strange to Watson that a President so concerned with saving democracy abroad should pass the oppressive Espionage and Sedition Acts at home. He said, "On the pretext of waging war against Prussianism in Europe, the purpose of Prussianizing this country has been avowed in Congress, with brutal frankness, by a spokesman of the administration." He feared that the Republic would be "transformed into a German military camp." "Already," he warned, "the Executive branch of Government has swallowed the Legislative, and the President has demanded—and secured more personal power than any Kaiser ever possessed."

Watson had scheduled an interstate convention in Macon, Georgia to discuss "the recent unconstitutional and revolutionary acts of Congress." Interference by the federal authorities and threats of military violence forced him to call it off. At the end of August, the Jeffersonians were banned under the Espionage Act and Watson's prediction of "prodigious sacrifices of treasure and blood" was soon to come true.

Personal tragedy was mingled with public ruin when Watson's remaining daughter died a week after the Jeffersonians were banned. Another daughter had been lost during infancy. During the U.S. war effort, reference was made to the "seditious utter-

ances" and "un-American writings" Watson had brought forth in his "disloyal, incendiary publications." His health worsened and he moved to Florida to seek relief. John Duram Watson, his last surviving child, was seized with convulsions and died there during a visit. Watson reflected: "Perhaps, you had come to realize that you were one of those men with whom Fortune deals grudgingly, one of those whom Hope deceives and Success laughs at; one of those who always has wind and wave against him, and who never by any sort of chance finds himself in league with luck."

Yet Watson would not give up. He returned to Georgia and renewed his fight against Wilson's policies. Soon after the Armistice he began publication of a new weekly paper, the *Columbia Sentinel*. Because he was still under a governmental ban, he had to post his newspaper from a neighboring town. Watson spoke from experience when he wrote:

Not always is it easy to know the right,—very often is the road rough. Human praise can be won by shorter routes. Honor and riches are not always its rewards. Pleasanter days and calmer nights can be yours, if you float smoothly down the tide of policy,—steering deftly by the rules of the expedient.

During 1918, the Sage of Hickory Hill watched Senator Thomas W. Hardwick go down to defeat in his re-election campaign because of his opposition to the League of Nations. His challenger, who favored the League, had received Wilson's personal support. Watson was one of the League's greatest foes. Pointing out that George Washington "was a nationalist and not an internationalist; an American and not a cosmopolitan," he said,

Let us stand by the wisdom of the farewell address. Let us stand by the words of wisdom. Let us be content with the prosperity which has been ours under the historic, purely American policies. Let us not embark at this late day, into European intrigue, dynastic quarrels, disputes between emperors and Kings, aristocracies and autocracies, involving our country in things which we do not understand and which we need not try to understand. Why should we? Let Europe and Japan tend to their own affairs, and let us attend to ours.

Intending to avenge Hardwick's loss, Watson announced his candidacy for the Senate in 1920. His enemies laughed that he had been "shelved so long he was dusty." The old Populist ran against two of the most powerful politicians in the state, Senator Hoke Smith, the incumbent, and Governor Hugh M. Dorsey. Smith had deserted the Populist principles that he had espoused during his days as a reform governor; having worked with Wilson in the Senate, he now refused to take a firm stand against the President's pet project, the League of Nations. Dorsey ran as an outspoken advocate of the League.

Watson traversed the state three times in an automobile, though suffering from asthma and bronchitis. Only one state newspaper, Hearst's *Atlanta Georgian* and *Sunday American*, gave him his support. Even the American Legion opposed him. And yet the people of Georgia were tired of war and internationalism. At one point during the campaign a crowd of 20,000 besieged an auditorium Watson was to speak at in Atlanta. By 5 o'clock in the afternoon the building contained 10,000 people, and the fire department announced that the rest would have to be turned away. Watson's supporters waited three hours to hear him speak, filling not only the seats but the floor, the aisles, even parts of the stage.

Watson made clear his complete rejection of the League of Nations:

In the league, the great charter is engulfed, the sovereignty of the people disappears, and a universal monarchy is at last established. The council of the league will absorb within itself judicial power, legislative power, and executive power. It will be a supreme court of the world, a supreme legislature of the world, a supreme executive of the world. It will evolve its own army, its own treasury, its own system of finance, its own civil service. It will have in its hands both the purse and the sword, and nowhere on earth will there be a power to veto its measures or resist its usurpations.

It pretends to assimilate the yellow race, the brown race, the black race, and the white race. It pretends to harmonize democracy with imperialism, the Kings with the republics. It pretends to reconcile the Buddhist with the Confucianist, the Mohammedan with the Christian It pretends to expect international melody out of 33 discordant national notes.

If the real purpose is to create an international guaranty and collection agency for the great bankers and bondholders of indebted nations, then the League will be a success.

The President (Wilson) admits that we will lose our independence in the league. Therefore he himself admits that he went to France and surrendered the very thing that our soldier boys fought and died to maintain What he has done is immensely more than equivalent to the destruction of the documents which contain the Declaration and of the Farewell Address. He has signed away independence itself; he has signed away the Americanism of the Farewell Address; he has surrendered what our forefathers gained under the shadow of a European crown.

The Treaty of Versailles also met with Watson's unyielding opposition. He asked, "What sort of peace was imposed upon the German people, whom Wilson said he 'loved'?" He pointed out that such treaties "will naturally arouse jealousy. Germany will not always be prostrate. Sixty-odd million people can not be kept down." He scoffed at those who claimed, because of a treaty, "that a millennium of brotherly love will ensue; that there will be no future wars, although humanity remains unchanged." He

could not understand how "experienced men of affairs, like the President of the United States, could believe for one minute that you can make any kind of agreement, signed up in any sort of way, which will banish war."

Watson won the senatorial contest. The popular vote he received was almost twice that of his opponents combined. His biographer (Brewton) describes the outcome as "the most signal victory ever recorded in Georgia politics." Hardwick had renewed his struggle against the League by entering the gubernatorial race, and was elected Governor.

The great Populist leader had been vindicated. After thirty years he was back in Washington. The Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations were never ratified, in part due to Watson's efforts. In the Senate he continued his struggle against internationalism by opposing the Four-Powers Treaty, which linked America with the imperialist interests of Europe. He cautioned that "the Republic can not be the partner of an imperialism, without a reaction coming from the imperialism affecting the democratic institutions and ideals in this country."

Watson fought the financial tyranny of the Federal Reserve Board, just as he had earlier done battle with the National Bank. Referring to a dangerous drop in farm prices, he charged that the Board had "destroyed the money, decreased the circulation, and brought on the panic which they called deflation." He asked President Harding to remove the five members of the Board and appoint others, contending that they were bankers in the service of Wall Street interests.

Senator Watson was tormented by chronic attacks of asthma during his term in the Sixty-Seventh Congress. His health compelled him to abandon the Washington hotel life and take up residence in Chevy Chase, Maryland. At one point he required the constant attention of a nurse for eight weeks. Despite such difficulties, he did his best to attend to his senatorial duties.

On 17 September 1922 Watson suffered a painful asthma attack and the doctor insisted that he remain in bed for a week. However, he was determined to attend the closing of the second session of Congress on the twenty-second; there, he spoke out for a group of striking Pennsylvania coal miners who had recently been evicted from their homes. With his efforts in their behalf, Tom Watson had fought his last battle. He suffered a severe attack of asthma and bronchitis on the night of the twenty-fifth, and died the next morning—at the age of sixty-six. On September 28th 10,000 people attended his funeral at Hickory Hill.

The Sage of Hickory Hill still excites enmity from the foes of democracy and adherents to imperialism. A recent work sponsored by the Zionist Anti-[sic]Defamation League alleges that "Tom Watson wrote one of the dirtiest chapters of bigotry in the South.

Though twenty-nine speeches were given in his honor when Congress held memorial services during 1923, Senator Watson himself wrote the words that best serve as his epitaph:

Let the tide ebb—it must be so; let the daylight fade, it must be so—but this much any poor mortal can do, and should do: Hold aloft, to the very last, the banner of your creed; fight for it as long as you can stand; and when you go down, let it be possible for you to say to those who love you: Lay a sword on my coffin; for I, also, was a soldier in the great struggle for humanity.

A Short Watson Bibliography

There are two biographies of Tom Watson: *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel*, by C. Vann Woodward, and *The Life of Thomas E. Watson*, by William W. Brewton. Both biographers give their subject a sympathetic treatment. Besides the historical works mentioned in the text, Watson wrote numerous books and pamphlets on political questions. *The People's Party Campaign Book* and the *Political and Economic Handbook* are systematic expositions of his political philosophy. *The Life and Speeches of Thomas E. Watson* contains his most famous pieces of oratory. *Sketches: Historical, Literary, Biographical, Economic, Etc.* and *Prose Miscellanies* are anthologies of articles from the Jeffersonians. Marxism and related creeds are subjected to a populist analysis in *Socialists and Socialism*. *Mr. Watson's Editorials on the War Issues* is a collection of his writings in opposition to World War I.

Three Assessments of the Infamy of December 7, 1941

PERCY L. GREAVES, Jr.

AT DAWN WE SLEPT: THE UNTOLD STORY OF PEARL HARBOR
by Gordon W. Prange, in collaboration with Donald M. Goldstein
and Katherine V. Dillon, McGraw Hill, 889pp, \$22.95.

THE PACIFIC WAR, by John Costello, Rawson Wade, 742pp,
\$24.00.

INFAMY, by John Toland, Doubleday, 366pp, \$17.95.

The Pearl Harbor disaster marks much more than the worst naval, military and diplomatic defeats in American history. It represents the culmination of a half century movement to discard the philosophy of our Founding Fathers—a philosophy that had attracted millions of immigrants to our shores in their pursuit of personal prosperity in the land of the free and of limited government. Pearl Harbor, and its aftermath, dropped a curtain over the economic failures of the New Deal policies of ever-increasing political spending and a politically controlled economy in an attempt to solve the government-created problems of inflation and mass unemployment. It also launched the full flowering of a new form of imperialism, whereby it is assumed that the President of the United States is not only the chief policeman of the world, but also the chief dispenser of largess at home and abroad.

Dates not in quotations are given in the European or American-military style, in accordance with The JHR style. —P.L.G.

It has long been this reviewer's contention that the true story of Pearl Harbor is too complex, interwoven and unbelievable to be presented in a single volume. Nevertheless, three brave men have recently attempted to do so. Their books all read well. An uninformed reader of any one might well think that book very informative. The reader of all three is more likely to be confused than enlightened.

The Prange book is a full-fledged one-sided defense of the position to which the Roosevelt adulators have been driven by the revelations of facts long hidden from the public. Oddly, the authors of its Introduction hope "it raises more questions than it provides answers." This it does. The Costello book is the work of a truth-seeking Englishman with a bias that it was our duty to save England and the world from the scourge of Hitler. Much of the book's "significant new evidence,"¹ though it may be interesting and informative to many, can be found buried in material made public in 1945 and 1946. The Toland book is a far from complete story. However, it is the one that provides us with the most new, valuable and interesting information on what contributed to this highly important disaster and the attempts made to cover up the truth. Its many contributions will have to be taken into consideration by all future historians of this event.

At Dawn We Slept

Prange died in May 1980, so two of his former students—Donald L. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon—have edited his massive manuscript into its published form. They claim he tried "to be as objective as humanly possible."² Possibly so, if one accepts the "new imperialism" as a basis for weighing what he found. However, if one accepts the constitutional concepts of our Founding Fathers, it becomes difficult to believe that "Washington had very little practical option."³ Even if one accepts the "new imperialism" philosophy that the problems of the Far East were the problems of the United States in general and our President in particular, Prange, like many others, completely ignores the fact that the basic controversy in that area was between the expansionist policies of the communist-minded Soviet Union and the largely western-oriented Japan in need of raw materials and markets for her finished goods.

Prange is silent on the Soviet attempts to disrupt Japan's commercial and industrial developments on the mainland. Yet, it was the "commies" and the lack of local government protection that created "incidents" which led to Japan's questionable military operations on the mainland. President Roosevelt sided with a weak Chinese government which could not control the terroristic devastations of either the "war lords" or the "commie" trouble

makers, much less maintain peace in the market place. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) severed our trade treaty with Japan in the summer of 1940. He, thus, consciously or unconsciously, took the side of the Soviet Union in the Far East squabble. After Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, FDR considered the Soviets our allies and provided them Lend-Lease aid. At the same time meaningful negotiations with the Japanese ceased, as FDR drew an even tighter noose around Japan's economic neck. Prange's objectivism consists in believing Roosevelt had no choice and that while he may have made some small human errors in details, his overall policies were heroic. He does, on occasion, admit there were some peace-minded people in Japan, but the war-minded military expansionists won out. That this may have been the result of FDR's personal anti-Japanese policies is not one of Prange's positions.

When it gets to the investigations, we learn that "Stimson's suggestion" of Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts "was a good choice to direct the investigation"⁴ that cleared FDR, Stimson, Marshall et al of any responsibilities, while placing full blame on the Hawaiian commanders, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and General Walter C. Short. Prange neglects to state that Roberts had been an interventionist advocate before Pearl Harbor. He, Prange, tells us the Hart Inquiry produced "valuable material,"⁵ but he fails to cite any, preferring the later, refreshed testimony that attempts to refute the earlier evidence. Forced to admit that under oath neither General George Catlett Marshall nor Admiral Harold R. Stark could recall the most important days and events in their lives, he takes refuge in "witnesses like Stark and Marshall who frankly admit that they do not know or remember everything can be more credible than those who testify in assured detail to matters of which they have no direct knowledge."⁶ That should take care of those who knew of and acted on the receipt of the still missing "winds execute" message that indicated war with the United States and Britain. When Senator Homer Ferguson's vigorous questioning of Marshall during the Congressional investigation placed a number of damaging facts in the record, we read that he "kept Marshall on the stand for an incredible nine and a half hours. His first session . . . covered a potpourri of subjects which we need not examine."⁷

While he does admit the War and Navy Departments failed to send vital information they had to the Pearl Harbor commanders, it would take another book of 800 pages to balance, correct and refute the one-sided presentation of the book's selected "facts" and deductions. However, as one the book calls a "gifted, convinced revisionist,"⁸ this reviewer must comment on the final section of the book that ends with this sentence:

But in a thorough search of more than thirty years, including all publications released up to May 1, 1981 we have not discovered one document or one word of sworn testimony that substantiates the revisionist position on Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor.⁹

The section starts off by admitting that some of the conclusions of "the more reasonable revisionists" are "arguable."¹⁰ Then he tells us:

According to Beard, the President was a warmonger who deceived the American people, violated his antiwar campaign pledge of 1940, and maneuvered the Japanese into firing the first shot.¹¹

Part of his rebuttal reads:

Percy L. Greaves, Jr., too, conceded, "Washington did not know, or at least no evidence has been adduced that Washington knew, precisely, that the attack would fall on Pearl Harbor although they (sic) had good reason to expect that it might."¹²

That has been my position since 1946 and still is. However, Prange neglects three now well established facts: (1) That FDR was re-elected in 1940 with the help of public promises that we were not going to fight in any foreign wars, while he was secretly promising aid to the British once the election was won; (2) That FDR precipitated the attack with an ill-considered ultimatum he knew Japan could not accept; and (3) That FDR told his War Cabinet on 25 November 1941, that an attack could be expected as soon as next Monday. Unfortunately, FDR's attention was on the Japanese convoys moving south toward Thailand and Malaya. His chief worry in late 1941 was whether Congress and the country would back him up in keeping his secret unconstitutional promises to Britain that we would join the war if the Japanese, as they drove for the vitally needed oil we would not let them buy, passed us by and attacked only British or Dutch territory.

Prange claims that when William Henry Chamberlin states the Japanese task force was "under the command of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto," he made "a mistake . . . the sort of factual error that casts doubt upon a (sic) historian's credibility."¹³ Actually, the task force was operating under the orders of Admiral Yamamoto, who sent the final attack orders from his headquarters in Japan.

That was a little one. Now for a big one:

Greaves asserted, "Early in 1941 administration officials reached a secret agreement with British and Dutch officials, which committed us to go to war against Japan if Japanese forces crossed a certain line." It so happened that representatives of the U. S. and British Army and Navy staffs held discussions in Washington from January 29 to March 27, 1941. These discussions culminated in a secret military agreement (ABC-1 of March 1941). Roosevelt did not approve ABC-1 . . . Doubtless this is the "secret agreement" to which Greaves referred. However, both Marshall and

Stark withheld approval because, among other reasons, ABC contained "political matters" and the proposals set forth did not constitute "a practical operating plan." These plans and discussions did not commit the United States politically to go to war with Japan, Germany, or both; they outlined the military strategy to be followed if the country joined the conflict.¹⁴

While only Congress can constitutionally declare war, this "secret agreement" by "administration officials" did commit "us to go to war against Japan if Japanese forces crossed a certain line." A statement signed by the Secretary of the Joint Board was introduced into the hearings, stating that the President had "familiarized himself" with the agreement, but "he would not approve the report at this time."¹⁵

Unfortunately, the original copy, signed by the "administration officials" could not be located. However, on 3 April 1941, Stark sent each of the Commanders in Chief of the three United States fleets "two copies of the Report (Short title ABC-1)." His official letter stated:

This Report has been approved by the Chief of Staff of the Army and by myself and, at an appropriate time is expected to receive the approval of the President The basic idea of the United States-British plan is that the United States will draw forces from the Pacific Fleet to reinforce the Atlantic Fleet, and that the British will, if necessary, transfer naval forces to the Far East to attempt to hold the Japanese north of the Malay Barrier The question of our entry into the war now seems to be when and not whether.¹⁶

This 3 April letter, just quoted, was distributed to the Congressional Committee members as part of Exhibit #106. However, the printed record omitted it from that exhibit. Perhaps it was because of Stark's next letter to Kimmel, dated 4 April, which said:

Yesterday, I sent an official letter to you Spent over three hours with him [the President] day before yesterday and another hour yesterday. My official letter on the staff conversations had some thoughts in it as a result of that Conference. I may tell you and Hart and King, in the strictest confidence and I mean by that nobody but you and Hart and King, that I read to the President the official secret letter which I mailed you three yesterday and received his general assent to it. . . . I am also enclosing a memorandum, which I regard as vitally secret and which I trust you will burn as soon as you have read it, covering the President's talk with Ghormley and me yesterday.¹⁷

Admiral Robert Lee Ghormley was the Navy's representative to the British government.

Stark's Chief of War Plans, Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, testified before the Hart Inquiry:

WPL-46; Rainbow 5, it was known as. That war plan was a joint plan between the Army and the Navy. It had its basis in an international agreement with the British Army, Navy and Air Force . . . It was a worldwide agreement . . . On the conclusion of that agreement with the British, the WPL-46 was prepared after a great many talks with the Army and was approved by the Joint Board, the Secretaries of War and Navy, and by the President. The Navy issued their form of that war plan in May of 1941.¹⁸

He also testified that:

In May of 1941, decision was reached jointly with the British Government to occupy the Azores. The force which was withdrawn from the Pacific at that time . . . That project was abandoned and the occupation of Iceland by American troops was substituted.¹⁹

Stark's Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Royal E. Ingersoll later told the Hart Inquiry:

The transfer of ships from the Pacific to the Atlantic was in accordance with WPL-46, which, in turn, was based on the U.S.-British conversations which culminated in the plan known as "ABC-1."²⁰

The Navy Court of Inquiry asked Stark, "Who approved the Joint Army and Navy Basic War Plan Rainbow 5?" He replied, "It was approved by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the President."²¹

When Stark appeared before the Congressional Committee, his distributed statement read, "Based on the understandings arrived at in ABC-1, the Army and the Navy developed a Joint Basic War Plan known as Rainbow No. 5, which was approved by the Secretaries of War and the Navy ~~and by the President~~." In reading his statement, he said he had crossed out the words "and by the President" because he was told to do so when he submitted the statement to the Navy Department the day before. His reason for doing so, which this reviewer heard him state, has been omitted from the printed record.²²

General L.T. Gerow, Chief of Army War Plans, told the Roberts Commission, "the Joint Army and Navy Basic War Plan—Rainbow No. 5 was approved by the President, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy in May 1941."²³

In a Joint Memorandum for the President dated 5 November 1941, Marshall and Stark concluded:

The basic military policies and strategy agreed to in the United States-British Staff conversations remain sound . . . Military action against Japan should be undertaken only in one or more of the following contingencies:

(1) A direct act of war by Japanese armed forces against the territory or mandated territory of the United States, the British Commonwealth, or the Netherlands East Indies;

(2) The movement of Japanese forces into Thailand to the west of 100° East or south of 10° North; or into Portuguese Timor, New Caledonia, or the Loyalty Islands.²⁴

The SECRET Rainbow 5 states under "PHASE 1—Initial tasks—Japan not in the war. . . . Protect the territory and communications of the associated powers."²⁵ The Associated Powers were understood to be the United States, Netherlands East Indies and the British Commonwealth, including Australia, New Zealand and India.

The reader can make his or her own decision as to whether or not there was a "secret agreement" in force in the spring of 1941, and whether "both Marshall and Stark withheld approval."

Revisionists, being human, have made mistakes. Carried away emotionally by the blatant cover up propaganda of the "court historians," they have on occasion let some of their deductions exceed the provable facts. This reviewer has opposed such claims and has constantly maintained that, as incomplete as the record is, the known facts prove that FDR deceived the American public and that his aides lied time and time again in an effort to cover up the truth. General Sherman Miles admitted in an affidavit that he was ordered by Marshall to commit perjury by refusing to tell the full truth.²⁶

So much for the Prange effort, which certainly "raises more questions than it provides answers."²⁷

The Pacific War

John Costello's book is an unfortunate one. He is an Englishman, too young to have any mature recollections of the times and conditions existing in Asia and this country in the years and crucial months preceding the Pearl Harbor disaster. Unlike Prange, he was unable to know, observe or interview any of the major participants. He was thus dependent on the written records he had time to examine in the short time he devoted to the subject. Although he knew of the Joint Congressional Committee hearings, which he mistakenly refers to as the Senate hearings, his lack of familiarity with the contents of the some 44 volumes that were part of its record leaves much to be desired. On the subject of Pearl Harbor, he is an amateur, competing in the big leagues.

As most histories are written from the viewpoint of the victors, Costello, who matured in the post World War II era, has read only the generally accepted establishment view that it was right and proper for the United States to interfere in the Far East quarrels—quarrels that President Hoover, along with most Americans of his era and before, felt were matters about which the United States would not go to war. This new form of noblesse oblige imperialism is probably easier for an Englishman to accept than for a traditional American. Costello not only accepts it, but agrees with the pre-Pearl Harbor Roosevelt position that Japan was guilty of one-sided "aggression in China,"²⁸ and that "Japan was progressing toward a totalitarian Fascist state."²⁹

He gives little thought to the possibility that it was Communist infiltration from Siberia that was the underlying cause behind most of the early incidents that led to the Japanese military expedition. It may have been all right in 1901 for Japan to join with the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia in protecting her nationals in China. But somehow or other Japan was no longer entitled to protect her nationals or her commercial and industrial interests when what passed for the Chinese government could not maintain law and order. The trouble makers were never the "commies." It was "the Japanese, who engineered 'incidents'."³⁰ So economic measures to strangulate Japan were desirable even though they led inevitably to a war to restrain Japan and make Asia safe for communist exploitation.

For the serious student, the book is a horror. Costello's editors certainly let him down. The author apparently felt that only quotations needed to be documented. Consequently, many important statements are unsupported. Much worse is the fact that the documentation is all too often in error. Quotations are occasionally mangled or so edited as to modify the meaning of a longer quotation. Some of the documentation errors are to the wrong pages. Others are to the wrong books. Some are ludicrous, as references to pages 440 and 944 in a book that has only 266 pages. Too many are to an "op.cit." many pages away; at least one is to a book not included in a rather skimpy bibliography for this subject.³¹

The book states that a Navy witness, who tried to send an alert to Pearl Harbor, "testified, the War Plans Division had 'so amended the dispatch as to make it worthless'."³² The record does not show that the witness ever made such a statement. The page cited indicates the witness took the drafted message to the Chief of War Plans who "made a number of corrections in it, striking out all except the information parts of it, more or less." The witness was told, "If you want to send it, you either send it the way I corrected it, or take it back to Wilkinson [his superior] and we will argue about it."³³ The revised draft was left with Wilkinson, but never sent. A reading of the full testimony of the witness's two appearances fails to reveal the words Costello places in quotation marks.

The Japanese Honolulu to Tokyo 6 December message ended, "the heavy cruisers and airplane carriers have all left. It appears that no air reconnaissance is being conducted by the fleet air arm."³⁴ This appears in the book as, "ALL CARRIERS AND HEAVY CRUISERS ARE AT SEA. NO SPECIAL REPORTS ON THE FLEET OAHU IS QUIET . . ."³⁵ Why the author should take such liberties is hard to understand.

He was also unaware of why there was a delay in translating this "bomb plot" series. The message cited was read after the attack, but earlier ones were read in Washington before the attack after receipt from Hawaii by airmail. Airmail was only twice

a week then. Contrary to Costello's belief, Hawaii could have read the series promptly if Washington had alerted them. However, the Hawaii code experts had been ordered to devote all their energies to breaking the Japanese Naval code. So such messages in the minor consular code were forwarded to Washington for decoding. None of this vital information was ever sent to Hawaii.

There are countless factual errors of differing importance, but not the kind a careful historian would permit to appear in print. We read on one page about "the fall of Paris on July 18." On the next page we read, "on June 21, the day before Germany and France signed their armistice." Paris fell on 22 June.

The book reads: "Konoye on November 11 proclaimed 'a new order in East Asia' to save China from her traditional fate as the 'victim of the imperialistic ambitions of the occidental powers'."³⁷ For his source he cites another book. Actually, the date of Konoye's radio speech was eight days earlier, 3 November, 1938. The translation in the official U.S. State Department volume does not include the words in the inner quotes. It does state:

The Chiang Kai-shek administration has practically been reduced to a mere local regime . . . What Japan sincerely desires is the development and not the ruin of China. It is China's cooperation and not conquest that Japan sincerely desires. Japan desires to build up a stabilized Far East by cooperating with the Chinese people who have awakened to the need of self-determination as an Oriental race . . . It goes without saying that Japan will not exclude cooperation of foreign Powers. Neither she intends to damage the legitimate rights of the third Powers in China . . . The world knows that Japan is earnestly determined to fight it out with communism. What the Comintern intends to do is bolshevisation of the Far East and disturbance of world peace. Japan expects to suppress in a drastic manner the sources of the evils of bolshevisation and their subversive activities.³⁸

One may legitimately doubt the sincerity of any diplomat, but that is no reason to misrepresent and misquote his actual words.

On page 90 we read that Hitler invaded the Soviet Union on "July 22, 1941." On the next page we read, "The day before Operation Barbarosa . . . June 21." That was plain carelessness. But what about his crediting Lieutenant Commander A. D. Kramer with Captain L. F. Safford's office,³⁹ or having Kimmel "sent out in February 1941,"⁴⁰ when he went out with the Fleet almost a year earlier and merely assumed the top command on 1 February? Costello confuses the "winds code" and "winds execute" messages,⁴¹ as well as FDR's full Cabinet and War Cabinet,⁴² which included the Secretaries of War, Navy and State, along with the Chief of Staff and Chief of Naval Operations. He has FDR making a statement to his wife, Eleanor, that his source states was made to a judge in his wife's presence.⁴³ It was about FDR's face-saving message sent early in the evening of

6 December to the Japanese Emperor.⁴⁴ This was after he knew Japan's reply was in—a reply that he had known since 22 November meant "things are automatically going to happen"⁴⁵ and which, when he saw 13 of its 14 parts, caused him to say, "This means war."⁴⁶

Costello even has Marshall out horseback riding when his 7 December duty officer, in a statement written on 8 June 1942, stated Marshall "arrived at the office at about 10:00 o'clock or shortly thereafter and had a series of conferences with staff officers from G-2 and the War Plans Division."⁴⁷

Costello is totally confused about the controversial message of 27 November to General Short signed "Marshall." Actually, Marshall was out of town that day and had nothing to do with it. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, whom Costello calls Secretary of the Navy on page 83 and Secretary of War on page 85, sent that message, which was primarily a copy of the one sent to General Douglas MacArthur in the Philippine Islands. The messages said, "You are directed to undertake such reconnaissance and other measures as you deem necessary." Generals Short and MacArthur were both ordered to "report measures taken."⁴⁸ Stimson was unfamiliar with the situation in Hawaii. Both Marshall and Short knew, if Stimson did not, that there were no Army planes available in Hawaii for long distance reconnaissance. Most of Hawaii's B-17s had been sent on to the Philippines.

Costello, like many others, is bothered by the sudden 26 November decision to jettison the proposed United States "modus vivendi" as an answer to a Japanese proposed "modus vivendi." It was designed to gain a delay of three months on the decision for war. While China objected furiously, it had been approved by the War Cabinet and the governments of Britain, Netherlands and Australia. On 26 November, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau called on FDR as he received his breakfast in bed. Costello tells us: "Plainly Roosevelt had just received some news which had shaken him because 'He had not touched his coffee'."⁴⁹ From this non sequitur, he jumps to the conclusion "that whatever war warning the President received on the morning of November 26th, it almost certainly came from Churchill." He then reasons the alleged war warning must have come "through an entirely confidential channel . . . the likely source and channel is to be found in the account of William Stephenson," the British agent in New York whose duty was to get the United States into the war with FDR's secret help. He believes the "go-between" was FDR's son, James.⁵⁰

While Costello states "there are no indications in the published accounts," he presumes "there is good reason" to believe that "still sealed" papers "must cast doubt on Stimson's account as well as the official version of why the United States so dramatic-

ally and unexpectedly reversed its policy toward Japan on the morning of November 26, 1941 That some war warning was received in the White House that day was certainly believed by Admiral Kimmel he certainly tried to establish the existence of such a warning." As justification for this, he cites a question "Kimmel asked Stark" during the Navy Court of Inquiry. Actually, Kimmel asked the question during a cross examination of Admiral R. E. Schuirmann, the Navy's liaison with the State Department. Kimmel asked, "Do you recall whether on or about 26 November you received information from the Office of Naval Intelligence that they had specific evidence of Japan's intention to wage war against both Britain and the United States?"⁵¹ Schuirmann refused to answer, claiming "his privilege against revealing state secrets." The Judge Advocate sustained the objection as "beyond the scope of direct examination."⁵²

Kimmel asked a series of questions "to ascertain the specific information which he was being denied."⁵³ They all referred to intercepts of Japanese messages which were still classified "Top Secret." Schuirmann refused to answer any of the questions Kimmel asked and the Court upheld Schuirmann's objections. What Costello did not know was that these questions were based on a statement Captain L. F. Safford had prepared from memory, when the intercepts were missing from the files, for his testimony before the Hart Inquiry.⁵⁴ He was undoubtedly recalling a Hanoi-Tokyo Purple intercept translated on 26 November that said:

(Strictly Secret)

We are advised by the military that we are to have a reply from the United States on the 25th. If this is true, no doubt the Cabinet will make a decision between peace and war within the next day or so Should, however, the negotiations not end in a success, since practically all preparations for the campaign have been completed, our forces shall be able to move within the day."⁵⁵

Another fact Costello did not seem to know was why Morgenthau was calling on FDR before breakfast on 26 November. Chiang Kai-shek was not the only one opposed to the "modus vivendi." The communists were also active opponents. Chiang's American adviser was no other than Owen Lattimore. Lattimore sent a key cable to Lauchlin Currie, Administrative Assistant to FDR, which said in part:

You should urgently advise the President of the Generalissimo's strong reaction. I have never seen him really agitated before Any "modus vivendi" . . . would be disastrous to Chinese belief in America The Generalissimo has deep confidence in the President's fidelity to his consistent policy but I must warn you that even the Generalissimo questions his ability to hold the situation together if the Chinese national trust in America is undermined.⁵⁶

Apparently Lattimore was also helpful with the cables that bombarded many top Administration officials as well as one that caused Churchill to send FDR a cable received at 6 a.m. 26 November stating:

It is for you to handle this business and we certainly do not want an additional war. There is only one point that disquiets us. What about Chiang Kai Shek? Is he not having a very thin diet? Our anxiety is about China. If they collapse our joint dangers would enormously increase. We are sure that the regard of the United States for the Chinese cause will govern your action. We feel that the Japanese are most unsure of themselves.⁵⁷

Morgenthau was one of the recipients of the loud cries from Chungking on 25 November. The first thing on the morning of the 26th, the Chinese Ambassador called on Morgenthau's aide, Harry Dexter White, at the Treasury. White went to Morgenthau who left immediately for the White House to persuade FDR to receive the Chinese Ambassador and oppose the "modus vivendi."⁵⁸ FDR did so and Hull was ordered to send an ultimatum everyone knew Japan could not accept.

Congressional committees have found that Lattimore, Currie and White were closely tied in with Communist interests in Washington. Regarding Costello's speculation that there was another message from Churchill, it should be mentioned that the "neutral" FDR established the first "hotline" telephone with Churchill in May 1940.⁵⁹ While this "confidential channel" undoubtedly explains why some FDR replies to Churchill requests were not in the files, it is extremely doubtful that FDR was shaken by a "war warning" phone call from Churchill on 26 November.

Costello writes much of "new evidence." He states "no detailed plan of the Pearl Harbor Attack . . . survived the Japanese destruction program at the end of the war."⁶⁰ Actually, on 29 November 1945, MacArthur sent the Congressional Committee a copy of the plan and it was printed in 1946 as Exhibit No. 8-B.⁶¹ Costello was intrigued to find "in the recently declassified records, an almost complete translation of Yamamoto's first operation order . . . : COMBINED FLEET TOP SECRET OPERATION ORDER 1."⁶² This was part of the Committee's Exhibit No. 8-D.

Costello informs us, "It is now possible to conclude, with some certainty, that it was not Stimson's report that proved crucial. That 'missing' document has been recovered from the recently declassified Confidential File of the Secretary of War."⁶³ Bravo! That "missing" document was printed in 1946 as Exhibit No. 98 of the Congressional Hearings.⁶⁴

Costello shows his evident distaste for "isolationists," "the isolationist press," "isolationist pressures," "the isolationist-inspired," "the 'professional pacifists'" as well as for his finding that an "isolation-dominated Capitol Hill" passed the Neutrality

Act "to keep the United States in strict international purdah."⁶⁵ Nevertheless, he does realize that FDR and Churchill, off Argentina in August 1941, secretly agreed to pursue parallel action against Japan and publicly signed the Atlantic Charter. "This proclaimed Anglo-Saxon unity to uphold Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, but in spite of great press fanfares it was to leave unmoved the 75 percent of Americans who still opposed going to war against Germany."⁶⁶

Despite the many shortcomings, the book does contain a number of statements with which more Americans should be made familiar. He tells us that "the Soviet Union sent arms to Mao Tse-Tung's guerrilla army" in China and forced Japan to choose either to accept a "stalemate or commit more forces to a military campaign to subdue the rest of China."⁶⁷ In commenting on the "American isolationists" and their imagined machinations with the Axis, he informs us that "British undercover agents, with the unofficial blessing of the White House, were operating along with the FBI to expose such conspiracies at the risk of violating American constitutional rights."⁶⁸

He concludes that "the two 'modus vivendi' positions were not irreconcilably apart. Significantly, the United States appeared ready to buy three more months of peace in the Pacific with a limited relaxation of the embargo and some encouragement on the Chinese to negotiate with Japan."⁶⁹ He also quotes Churchill's "November 23, 1941 minute to Anthony Eden" in which he said, "I should feel pleased if I read that an American-Japanese agreement had been made by which we were able to be no worse off three months hence in the Far East than we are now."⁷⁰

He also reminds us that our veteran Ambassador to Japan warned FDR that the imposition of embargoes "could lead to open conflict." He even states that both FDR and Hull "had been repeatedly warned by Ambassador Joseph Grew that Japan was being pushed into a diplomatic impasse from which war was the only exit."⁷¹

While we can disagree that his "new evidence" adds much, some of his conclusions are certainly acceptable deductions from the known facts. For example:

There is every indication that a month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, it was the United States that had decided to bring about the rupture of discussions and was about to prepare for the worst. There is now evidence for believing that President Roosevelt was not only expecting war but possibly knew exactly when it would break out. Clues . . . on both sides of the Atlantic . . . suggest that after the third week in November 1941 the British and American governments had not only decided that war with Japan was inevitable—but they knew the attack would hit Malaya and the Philippines.⁷²

According to a confidential British Foreign Office report 'the Pres-

ident and Mr. Hull were . . . fully conscious of what they were doing.' . . . Whether such an accommodation [the *modus vivendi*] would have worked out in practice is less important than the fact that it was the United States which decided to abandon the *modus vivendi*—thereby making a Pacific war inevitable . . . In the light of subsequent events, this decision proved to have been one of the most momentous in America's history.⁷³

To which we say, "Amen."

Infamy

The Toland book is a delight to read as well as the most informative of the three. He has pursued a number of previously unexplored leads with numerous interviews and a wide reading of pertinent sources. As a result, he has uncovered or confirmed much that is helpful in putting the complex Pearl Harbor jigsaw puzzle together. The book is not perfect or all inclusive, but it is probably the best volume on the subject to date.

While the book deals primarily with the attempted cover ups after the war, he does weave in many of the little-known important events and decisions that led up to the attack. Unfortunately, he does not develop fully the significance of his two major contributions—the Tyler Kent affair and the Stahlman letter.

His story of the Tyler Kent affair is the most revealing that this reviewer has seen in print. This case of the May 1940 British arrest and detainment, for the duration of the war, of an American code clerk with diplomatic privileges is one of the blackest marks on the record of the Roosevelt Administration. While Kent undoubtedly violated American law and regulations, there was no valid reason for the British to detain him. The waiver of his immunity certainly had to have the highest approval. If he had been expelled from England and tried by an American court, it would certainly have changed the course of history. Toland does not go into this aspect. However, if Kent had revealed the contents of the damaging FDR-Winston Churchill documents to Burton K. Wheeler of the U.S. Senate, rather than Captain A. H. M. Ramsey, of the British Parliament, this reviewer doubts that FDR would have obtained the 1940 Democratic Party nomination, much less a third term election. Without Roosevelt in the White House, it is difficult to imagine Pearl Harbor.

A few pages before the book's end, buried at the end of a paragraph, we read:

One of Knox's close friends, James G. Stahlman, wrote Admiral Kemp Tolley in 1973 that Knox told him that he, Stimson, Marshall, Stark and Harry Hopkins had spent most of the night of December 6 at the White House with the President: All were waiting for what they knew was coming: an attack on Pearl Harbor.⁷⁴

Toland continues, "The incredulities continued," but makes no further comment on this astounding bit of information. Mr.

Stahlman was not just a close friend of Knox. He was a well known publisher and a man of substance—a veteran of World War I and the President of the American Newspaper Publishers Association 1937-39 who served in Washington during World War II as a Captain in the U.S. Naval Reserve. His letter is prime evidence. While we can agree that these men were expecting some kind of an attack, there is still no documented evidence that they were thinking of Pearl Harbor. All available records indicate their attention was on the Japanese convoys going south. This is confirmed by Knox's spontaneous "My God, this can't be true! This must mean the Philippines," when informed of the attack.⁷⁵ The chief concern was whether we would be included in the attack and, if not, whether Congress and the country would endorse their secret desires, if not promise, to join in the defense of British and Dutch territory.

Think what this Stahlman letter means. It is certainly further proof that the testimonies of Stimson, Marshall and Stark are worthless. They could not recall. It also helps explain why so many of their underlings changed their earlier sworn testimony in order to conform with the desires of their superiors. We should no longer be surprised at the great lengths other "responsible" persons went to suppress the truth. After all, the record shows that Marshall ordered one of his aides to commit perjury before the Army Pearl Harbor Board. If one, were there not others?⁷⁶

Toland does provide a large number of instances in which efforts were made to twist or suppress the truth. He adds much to the story of Marshall's successful attempt to keep Thomas Dewey from mentioning in the 1944 Presidential campaign the pre-Pearl Harbor reading of Japanese codes. This was probably justified, as we were reading all Berlin-Tokyo diplomatic messages sent in the same system. However, few of the other attempts could be justified, particularly after the end of the war.

While there has been prior mention of the case of Chief Warrant Officer Ralph T. Briggs, Toland deserves great credit for breaking the full story. In doing so, he should end at last all doubt about the receipt of Tokyo's "winds execute" message. Tokyo set up a "winds code" on 19 November. It was a false weather message designed to inform Japan's consular and diplomatic representatives on the outbreak of war after they had destroyed their code books and machines. The code destruction orders went out on 1 and 2 December. So both Japanese and American radio stations were monitoring all weather broadcasts for the key words. Early testimony indicated that several persons had seen the "execute" of the "winds code" message and a number of others testified they had been informed of its reception. The cover-up forces then tried to dispel the idea that this clear warning of war, or at least of the breaking of relations, with Britain and the United States, was ever received. This had three

purposes: (1) It would water down or divert attention from the clear warnings that war was imminent after our 26 November ultimatum to Japan; (2) It would help excuse the failure to send more information to the Pearl Harbor commanders; and (3) It would cast doubt on the testimony of those few witnesses who were trying to tell the truth.

Toland informs us of some of the methods used to suppress the truth. Secretary Knox had promised Kimmel permission to have an aide search the files for pertinent documents.⁷⁷ One day the Acting Navy Secretary, Admiral Ernest J. King, allowed Kimmel's legal aide, retired Navy Captain Robert A. Lavender, to do so. He "extracted some forty-three messages, messages typical of what he thought should have gone to Kimmel." As he looked at these messages, he "became nauseated," and could not eat that evening while he was informing Kimmel's other attorneys of their contents.⁷⁸

The following day Marshall's deputy telephoned the director of Naval Communications to vigorously protest Lavender's visit to the secret files. Orders, he said, forbade such an inspection. When the director said he had received no such orders, the deputy hastily explained he merely meant that orders should forbid such inspection.

Even though the messages had been segregated and authenticated, the copies were not delivered to Lavender but kept in the custody of Naval Communications⁷⁹

Marshall also set up two Carter Clarke investigations to scotch growing rumors that he wanted suppressed. Under such interrogation, officers denied they had ever made the statements that others had quoted them as saying about the handling and rumored destruction of "secret" documents. Toland tells us how many of the pertinent documents were finally gotten into the record. This story alone is worth much more than the price of the book.

The next tactic was for the Secretaries of War and the Navy to send "identical bills to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees prohibiting disclosure of any coded matter." With only one hearing "in camera" the bill was rushed through the Senate and sent to the House.⁸⁰ If passed into law, it would have destroyed any chance that the American public would ever learn the truth about Pearl Harbor. Toland tells us how this was prevented.

After telling us how the Navy Court of Inquiry and Army Pearl Harbor Board reversed the Roberts Report findings, that made Kimmel and Short the scapegoats, placing a major share of the blame on Marshall and Stark, Toland tells us how these reports were first suppressed. Then, both the Army and Navy set up separate further investigations to discredit the official findings of Admirals and Generals. Prior witnesses were shown the testi-

mony favorable to the cover up and attempts were made to persuade them to change their earlier testimony. Some did, even though one had given his first testimony based on a statement composed by two Marshall aides within a week after Pearl Harbor. Others were persuaded they must have confused a false "winds execute" message with the real one.

There had been a number of private meetings at which witnesses were worked on. One key Navy witness, confined to the psychopathic ward at Bethesda Naval Hospital, was released for a meeting at Stark's home. He changed his original testimony and received a medical discharge right after the Congressional Committee issued its reports. Another Navy officer admitted he changed his "winds execute" testimony "because, up until . . . about 2 months ago, I thought the entire thing in that Wind message was authentic On talking to some of the officers who had gone into it . . . they said it had been found out later that that was a false broadcast . . . , but it was news to me at that time."⁸¹

While Toland has made available much valuable material which every informed American should know, the first printing does have a number of errors. Most of them are minor and should be corrected in later printings.

He states that Stimson's persistent hatred and fear of Japan began "while he was Hoover's Secretary of State, with the Japanese conquest of Manchuria in 1932."⁸² He should have traced it back to when Stimson was the Governor General of the Philippines from 1927 to 1929. In fact, it was this "hatred and fear" that led him to accept the Secretary of State position in preference to that of the Attorney General, thus leaving that position open for William D. Mitchell, the Congressional Committee's first Counsel, who resigned when he failed to railroad the Committee's Pearl Harbor hearings to an early conclusion.

The book tells us that Marshall's 7 December 1941 secretary, Colonel Walter Bedell Smith, as a Lieutenant General and Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, "flatly denied Colonel Sadtler's claim that he had asked Smith and Gerow on December 5 to authorize him to send Hawaii a warning."⁸³ Actually, Smith fell back on the standard Marshall-Stark "do not recall" answer. He signed and swore to an affidavit which stated, "I do not recall Colonel Sadtler's coming to me as he has stated." In the same affidavit he swore, "To the best of my recollection . . . if the intercepted radio message referred to by Colonel Bratton was delivered" to him on the night of 6 December 1941 as Bratton first testified, "it would have been delivered to the Chief of Staff in accordance with our usual procedure." Note how craftily he does not actually deny the testimonies of his fellow officers who remained Colonels throughout the war.

Writing about the "modus vivendi" requested by Marshall and Stark, seeking a three months' delay in the breakdown of negotiations with Japan and which had been approved on 25 November by the War Cabinet as well as the British, Dutch and Australian governments, the book states: "Later in the day [the 25th] a cable for Roosevelt arrived from Churchill."⁸⁵ Actually this key cable left London at 12:55 a.m., London time, on the 26th and reached Washington at 6 a.m.⁸⁶

Where Toland tells us "the President ordered Stimson to send out 'the final alert,'"⁸⁷ Stimson's diary states, "I suggested and he approved." Where the book states that on 28 November "Stimson took the offensive. Strike the Japanese force as it went by—without warning!"⁸⁸ the diary entry reads:

It further became a consensus of views that rather than strike at the Force as it went by without any warning . . . the only thing for us to do was to address it a warning that if it reached a certain place, or a certain line, or a certain point, we should have to fight."⁸⁹

The book includes Knox among those who "felt obliged to join in the cover-up and make scapegoats of two innocent men, Kimmel and Short."⁹⁰ Actually, Knox died on 28 April 1944, before the Navy Court of Inquiry. Before his death, he did grant Kimmel permission to search the Navy files. It was Marshall and Knox's successor, James Forrestal, who shut that door. Safford told this reviewer that he felt that if Knox had lived, he would have let the truth come out. We shall never know.

Toland tell us how President Harry S. Truman released the reports of the Navy Court of Inquiry and the Army Pearl Harbor Board shortly after V-J Day.⁹¹ He fails to note that these were only the SECRET reports and did not include the TOP SECRET reports which dealt with the testimony concerning the all-important decoded Japanese intercepts the cover-up boys tried so hard to keep secret. These were released some time later after a considerable controversy.

A rather odd change crept into the Toland book between the manuscript and the printed pages. The book has Marshall "vacationing in Florida with his wife" on 27 November 1941, the day that Stimson drafted a key message over Marshall's signature for MacArthur with a duplicate to Short with the added phrase "these measures should be carried out so as not to alarm civil population or disclose intent."⁹² This was also the date of the important joint Marshall-Stark memorandum to the President pleading for more time. Available records indicate Marshall left for Army maneuvers on the 26th and was back in his office on the morning of the 28th. If Toland has uncovered new information, it would have been helpful if he had provided the source.

Toland does establish that Kimmel and Short were not the scapegoats the Administration tried to paint them. He also tells of some of the calumny and sleepless nights these men had to suffer as some called them murderers while a number suggested they shoot themselves. The lives of these dedicated, innocent officers were a literal hell on earth for years as they had to suffer in silence. They were great Americans and Kimmel certainly proved himself a great fighter.

There was one real hero in all this infamy. It was my good friend, Laurence Frye Safford. He, too, suffered the torments of hell as he stuck to telling the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. After all these years, it is good to see a book that presents his story fairly. If it had not been for him, the cover-up boys would have buried the truth where it never could be found. It was he who provided Kimmel with the ammunition to fight. It was he who located and replaced many of the vital intercepts the cover-up boys thought had all been destroyed. It was also he on whom so much shame, ridicule and harrassment was heaped. He sacrificed his own career, but he refused to sacrifice that of Briggs, whose superiors ordered him not to disclose the truth about the "winds execute" message which Toland's INFAMY now reveals.

Toland concludes that "a number of reports to Washington indicated" to Roosevelt that the Japanese carriers were "heading eastward to Hawaii."⁹³ His evidence is tenuous. For years there were rumors, reports, novels, war games and speculations that Japan would start a war against the United States with a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor or our fleet, wherever it was. These were bandied about in the U. S. Navy as elsewhere. No doubt they continued right up to 7 December 1941. They were so numerous and conjectural that they were unfortunately put aside, though they should not have been, when all the concrete intelligence pointed to a southern Japanese attack force that might, or might not, sail into the Philippines.

The Japanese carriers were under orders to maintain radio silence. They would have been foolish to disobey those orders. Japanese sources have confirmed their silence. Seaman First Class Z and the Lurline radio operators may have heard the "noise" of the brief orders sent the carriers from Japan, but they could not have detected carriers moving in radio silence. There were last minute attempts to alert Washington from both the Netherlands East Indies and Australia. But so far as the record reveals, these all dealt with Japan's southern movements. The Japanese were most secretive about the Pearl Harbor attack plans and had no reason to disclose them to their representatives in Southeast Asia. In any case, there is no hard evidence that any of these reports actually got to the President.

Perhaps some information did. However, all the massive evidence from many, many sources indicates that the attention of FDR and his top advisers was on the Japanese convoys moving south. This long-time student of the Pearl Harbor story has long maintained that there is no need to go beyond established evidence. When one does, it provides an attractive target for the opponents of truth-seeking revisionists. Such speculative claims have hurt the revisionist movement in the past. The treatment given this great book by the WASHINGTON POST is an example of the damage such claims can do. There is a temptation to concentrate on the one questionable claim and thus neglect the many well-documented facts being published in such detail for the first time by such a talented and experienced author.

Washington had plenty of evidence that the United States was going to be attacked. The "winds execute" in conjunction with the Purple and "bomb plot" intercepts and the places where Japanese codes were being destroyed were clear evidence. As to knowledge the attack was to be on Pearl Harbor, this revisionist historian still holds his 1952 position quoted by Prange:

Percy L. Greaves, Jr., too, conceded, "Washington did not know, or at least no evidence has been adduced that Washington knew, precisely, that the attack would fall on Pearl Harbor although they (sic) had good reason to expect that it might."⁹⁴

Despite his many damning discoveries and disclosures, Toland is timid about blaming FDR, the man at the helm whose policies and decisions, as well as those of his personally-selected aides, led to the Pearl Harbor disaster. He concludes: "There were no heroes or villains on either side. . . . The villain was the times."⁹⁵

Nevertheless, Toland deserves great credit for his efforts. In his pursuit of the truth, he has not been hesitant about changing positions he took in his earlier books. This is the sign of a true scholar. He has made a priceless contribution to the annals of American history. This book should be required reading, not only for every student of government and history, but also for every American who wants to be informed on the shenanigans that cost the loss of so many innocent lives and hid the economic failures of the New Deal policies which are the main cause of our current economic dilemma of inflation, mass unemployment and capital consumption.

Compared with Pearl Harbor, Watergate was a tempest in a teapot. Compared with Prange, Costello and the court historians, Toland is a giant among modern historians.

Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath by John Toland
is available from the Institute for Historical Review, \$18.00

Footnotes

Abbreviations	Full Titles
Cong. Hrgs.	<i>Hearings of Joint Congressional Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, U.S.Govt. Printing Office, 1945/46.</i>
Costello	<i>The Pacific War</i> , by John Costello, Rawson Wade, 1981.
Lash	<i>Roosevelt and Churchill, 1939-1941</i> , by Joseph P. Lash, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1976.
Prange	<i>At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor</i> , by Gordon W. Prange, McGraw Hill, 1981.
Perpet. War	<i>Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace</i> , Harry Elmer Barnes, ed. Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1953. Chapter by Percy L. Greaves, Jr., "The Pearl Harbor Investigations."
Sen. Jud.	<i>U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, The Harry Dexter White Papers</i> , U.S.Govt. Printing Office, 1956.
Toland	<i>Infamy</i> , by John Toland, Doubleday, 1982.
U.S. For. Rel./J.	<i>United States Foreign Relations, Japan (1931-1941)</i> , U.S.Govt. Printing Office, 1943.
U.S.N. Pro.	<i>United States Naval Institute, Proceedings</i> , Annapolis, Md.

Footnote/Source/Page	Footnote/Source/Page
1. Costello, x	23. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 24-2160
2. Prange, ix	24. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 33-1239
3. Prange, xii	25. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 37-846&850
4. Prange, 592	26. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 35-101
5. Prange, 618	27. Prange, xiii
6. Prange, 629	28. Costello, 4
7. Prange, 688	29. Costello, 51
8. Prange, 725	30. Costello, 62
9. Prange, 850	31. Costello, 704 (p.606n)
10. Prange, 839	32. Costello, 646
11. Prange, 839/40	33. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 8-3388
12. Prange, 840	34. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 12-270
13. Prange, 840	35. Costello, 126
14. Prange, 845/46	36. Costello, 68/69
15. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 3-995	37. Costello, 61
16. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 33-1357	38. U.S. For. Rel./J. Vol. 1-479/480
17. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 16-2160/61	39. Costello, 86
18. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 26-264	40. Costello, 87
19. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 26-266	41. Costello, 645 et al
20. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 26-460	42. Costello, 119
21. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 32-70	43. Costello, 124
22. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 5-2102	& Lash, 486

Footnote/Source/Page	Footnote/Source/Page
44. Toland, 301	70. Costello, 625
45. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 12-165	71. Costello, 94&627
46. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 10-4662	72. Costello, 615/16
47. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1411	73. Costello, 627/28
48. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1328/29	74. Toland, 320
49. Costello, 629	75. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 3-3829
50. Costello, 633	76. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 35-101
51. Costello, 633/34	77. Toland, 81
52. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 33-732	78. Toland, 82
53. Costello, 634	79. Toland, 82
54. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 26-390	80. Toland, 133/34
55. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 12-174	81. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 4-2035
56. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1160	82. Toland, 26
57. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1300	83. Toland, 141
58. Sen. Jud. 2733	84. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 35-91
59. U.S.N. Pro. Dec. 1969-67	85. Toland, 267
60. Costello, 635	86. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1300
61. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 13-415	87. Toland, 274
62. Costello, 635 & Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 13-425	88. Toland, 277
63. Costello, 630	89. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 11-5436
64. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 16-2014	90. Toland, 323
65. Costello, 49/51 <i>passim</i>	91. Toland, 145
66. Costello, 96	92. Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1328/29
67. Costello, 60/61	93. Toland, 316
68. Costello, 615	94. Prange 840 & Perpet. War, 425
69. Costello, 623	95. Toland, 276

The Faurisson Affair—II

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

MEMOIRE EN DEFENSE, by Robert Faurisson, 275 pp, Preface by Noam Chomsky, La Vieille Taupe; B.P. 9805; 75224 Paris Cedex 05, 1980, FF65.

INTOLERABLE INTOLERANCE, by Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Eric Delcroix, Claude Karnoouh, Vincent Monteil, and Jean-Louis Tristani, 206 pp, Editions de la Différence, Paris, 1981, FF42.

This review of the two cited books is a continuation of my account of Robert Faurisson's struggles in France; it is assumed that the reader is acquainted with my review (in vol. 1, no. 4 of this journal) of Serge Thion's *Vérité Historique ou Vérité Politique?*

When I was writing the *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I encountered the name of a certain Dr. Kremer, a German physician who had been posted to the Auschwitz concentration camp in the summer and fall of 1942, and who had made certain entries in his diary that put Auschwitz in a terrible, even horrible light, e.g. "we are at *anus mundi*." A limited examination of the Kremer matter indicated to me that what he was implicitly referring to, assuming the diary authentic, was the typhus epidemic that devastated the camp at that time (*Hoax*, 58, 125ff). Moreover the leading bearers of the "extermination" legend had not attributed great significance to this diary so I paid little more attention to

Dr. Kremer (this Johann Paul Kremer must not be confused with the Tibère Kremer associated with the Nyiszli book).

When the Faurisson affair erupted in the pages of *Le Monde* in late 1978, therefore, I was surprised to see the opposition, principally Georges Wellers of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Paris, emphasize in its arguments the supposed implications of the Kremer diary. Some reflection revealed the reasons for this emphasis.

Above all, one must recognize the peculiar status of any true diary as an historical source. It is not written for publication, or even for the eyes of any but the author and perhaps (as is sometimes the case with prominent people involved in events known to be the objects of future scrutiny) a not unfriendly student who has taken the trouble to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the context in which the diary entries were made. Consequently, diaries are particularly likely sources of sentences lifted out of context if they become involved in heated public controversy. For one thing, such lifting out of context may easily be quite innocent, for the reason that the participants in the controversy are removed from the circumstances in which the diary was authored. What is worse, the observers of the controversy are remote not only from the circumstances of the diary, but typically from the diary itself. Such facts make it especially difficult to set aright, in a manner convincing to the observers, the contextual meanings of disputed passages.

For such reasons Wellers was able to make a certain impact with his comments on the Kremer diary (*Le Monde*, 29 December 1978), while Faurisson, when given an amount of space in *Le Monde* (16 January 1979) typical of an article in a daily newspaper, could not under the circumstances give the diary the exposition that the controversy required.

It is well worth mentioning that Faurisson is a professional and specialist precisely in a discipline most relevant to such tasks; his field is "criticism of texts and documents." Among all those whose views have been prominently aired on any side in the "Holocaust" controversy, Faurisson is to my knowledge the only such specialist.

The reader should not assume that the Weller's misquotes from the Kremer diary were "innocent." We read in his cited article the following alleged quotation from the Kremer diary:

This morning, at 3 o'clock, I attended a special action for the first time. Compared to that, Dante's Inferno seems a comedy. It is not without reason that Auschwitz is called an extermination camp.

Among many other things Faurisson had to point out that

Wellers had deleted the word "outside" in what should have been "outside at 3'oclock," which would have made the action in question difficult to imagine as a gassing. In addition, there was a re-coloring of meaning in the term "extermination camp," which gave the impression that Kremer had written "*Vernichtungslager*," a word which, contrary to the widely held view, did not exist among the Germans during World War II. What Kremer wrote was "*das Lager der Vernichtung*," i.e. the camp of the annihilation, a term that takes on a clear significance only when the diary is understood in context.

Despite the points that Faurisson scored, there were puzzles outstanding in connection with the diary. When Faurisson's litigations arose in 1979 the diary became a point of contention. No longer subject to *Le Monde*'s space constraints, Faurisson drew up his superb analysis of the Kremer diary, for use in court, and this analysis constitutes the principal component of *Mémoire en Défense* (in legal context, "*mémoire*" is close in meaning to our "brief"). After many pages of analysis of the diary (which says nothing of gassings) Faurisson shows that the horrors Kremer was referring to were indeed essentially those produced by the typhus epidemic, and that if there had been gassings then Kremer would have explicitly written so in the diary, as Kremer was sufficiently sure of privacy to commit several anti-Nazi remarks to his diary (that Kremer testified in support of the propagandists' interpretation of his own diary, before a postwar German court committed *a priori* to that interpretation, scarcely requires explanation here).

Faurisson turns in his usual concise but thorough performance in this book and the only comment I might make on it, that may seem negative, is that the matters treated are nearly the ultimate in esoterica and are likely to interest only active investigators in this historical area (apart from those of Faurisson's enemies who sniff all over his writings looking for things that might be somehow used against him).

The extraordinarily intense nature of Faurisson's contributions to this volume stand in contrast to the routine, indeed "banal," nature of the preface. However, since this preface was authored by Noam Chomsky, the famous M.I.T. linguist, it was the feature that brought even international publicity to the book (e.g. *N.Y. Times*, 1 January 1981).

It will be recalled that in 1979 Chomsky signed a petition in support of Faurisson's right to research the "Holocaust" subject and to publish his conclusions (the statement is reproduced in Thion's book).

In the U.S. journal *Nation* (28 February 1981) Chomsky explained the circumstances which led to the appearance of his preface in

the book. Thion had later asked Chomsky to make a more elaborate statement in support of Faurisson's rights as a scholar. Chomsky complied, telling Thion "to use it as he wished." Thion chose to offer it to Pierre Guillaume, Faurisson's publisher, for inclusion in the book. Chomsky was later persuaded by a French correspondent that "in France . . . (Chomsky's) defense of Faurisson's right to express his views would be interpreted as support for them," and so he attempted to stop the appearance of his statement in the book, but it was too late.

The gist of Chomsky's preface is that the right of free expression should not be limited to those ideas of which one approves and, of course, it is precisely in the defense of the right to express socially unpopular ideas that any principle of free expression draws its vitality. It is not unusual for professors to expound thus; they do so very often. What is unusual is that a professor, and a very prominent one at that, should feel obliged to direct such remarks to "intellectuals" rather than college freshmen. Chomsky saw the irony of the situation at the very outset of his essay by declaring that the "remarks that follow are so banal that I think I must ask reasonable people . . . to excuse me."

The Chomsky preface is almost entirely focused on the issues of academic freedom and civil liberties that are involved in the Faurisson affair. He strays slightly away from such concerns in expressing his opinion that Faurisson is a "relatively apolitical liberal," but nowhere does he endorse any of Faurisson's theses pertaining to "exterminations" and "gas chambers." In the ensuing controversy Chomsky went further and vigorously subscribed to the received "Holocaust" legend. For example, he had lively and even acrimonious encounters with Gitta Sereny in the British *New Statesman* (17 July, 14 August & 11 September 1981) and with W.D. Rubinstein in the *Australian Quadrant* (October 1981 & April 1982).

Sereny and Rubinstein, whatever their protests to the contrary, placed themselves squarely on the sides of both officially enforced censorship and informally enforced ignorance (in 1979 Rubinstein was writing letters to Australian libraries urging them not to make my book available). Chomsky, by contrast, placed himself almost as squarely on the side of the "free market in ideas." I am not forgetting that when I remark, as I must, that Sereny and Rubinstein, despite the poverty of their thought and the hypocrisy of their arguments, scored some points in these encounters that should be noted. For one thing, Chomsky's last minute attempt to withdraw the permission he had given Thion leaves a bad taste. He is not ten years old. As Sereny remarked, "Surely Mr. Chomsky is not telling us that when he . . . consented to write this opinion . . . that it didn't occur to him that Serge Thion—who has written a whole book upholding Faurisson's arguments, pub-

lished by Pierre Guillaume—would use a document of such publicity value for M. Faurisson's benefit?"

For another and far more serious thing Rubinstein, following Nadine Fresco (*Dissent*, Fall 1981), takes Chomsky to task for the apparent contradiction between his libertarian position regarding Faurisson and his decade earlier (*Social Policy*, May/June 1972) position regarding Harvard psychologist Richard Herrnstein's article "I.Q." (*Atlantic*, September 1971). In the latter part of an otherwise carefully reasoned critique of Herrnstein, Chomsky lost his bearings, if not his marbles:

... the question of the validity and scientific status of a particular point of view is, of course, logically independent from the question of its social function; each is a legitimate topic of inquiry, and the latter becomes of particular interest when the point of view in question is revealed to be seriously deficient on empirical or logical grounds.

... (The scientist) is responsible for the effects of what he does, insofar as they can be clearly foreseen. If the likely consequences of his "scientific work" (can be used as a justification for class and caste hierarchies), he has the responsibility to take this likelihood into account. This would be true even if the work had real scientific merit—more so, in fact, in this case.

Similarly imagine a psychologist in Hitler's Germany who thought he could show that Jews had a genetically determined tendency toward usury . . . or a drive toward antisocial conspiracy and domination, and so on. If he were criticized for even undertaking these studies, could he merely respond that "a neutral commentator . . . would have to say that the case is simply not settled" and that the "fundamental issue" is "whether inquiry shall (again) be shut off because someone thinks society is best left in ignorance?" I think not. Rather I think that such a response would have been met with justifiable contempt. At best he could claim that he is faced with a conflict of values. On the one hand, there is the alleged scientific importance of determining whether, in fact, Jews have a genetically determined tendency toward usury and domination (as might conceivably be the case). On the other, there is the likelihood that even opening this question and regarding it as a subject for scientific inquiry would provide ammunition for Goebbels and Rosenberg and their henchmen. Were this hypothetical psychologist to disregard the likely social consequences of his research (or even his undertaking of research) under existing social conditions, he would fully deserve the contempt of decent people. Of course, scientific curiosity should be encouraged (though fallacious argument and investigation of silly questions should not), but it is not an absolute value.

Chomsky is not specific either on the method by which his hypothetical scientists can "take . . . into account" the social consequences of their work or on what should happen to them if they don't, apart from his vague reference to "contempt." After a rea-

sonably close examination of his article I can think of no other method to accomplish the former, in a manner seemingly acceptable to Chomsky, but to not publish the work, "even if the work had real scientific merit." As for the latter, it is difficult to believe that as a practical matter the penalty for the unwelcome "curiosity" would stop at "contempt" if Chomsky's principle is accepted. If Chomsky rejects such interpretations of his writings, he nevertheless must take responsibility for advancing a theory which would naturally be understood thus. As proof witness Rubinstein, who wants to hold Chomsky to such interpretations regarding Faurisson, on the grounds that Faurisson's theories have, to Rubinstein's mind, socially undesirable implications.

It should not be necessary to take the space here to describe the shambles, or perhaps madhouse, that scholarship becomes if the scholar must answer to influential colleagues regarding the supposed "social function" of his conclusions or even questions. I suspect that Chomsky, especially in the aftermath of his involvement in the Faurisson affair, would mitigate or, better, repudiate his earlier position. Among the many points that could be made to Chomsky is one that he, with his respect for strict logic, would have to concede. Namely, the statement that certain investigations should not be undertaken because they might benefit the racists (or communists, or Republicans, or vegetarians), is itself a statement that could be used for the benefit of racists (or communists, Republicans, or vegetarians). It can even be used rather more effectively, for propaganda purposes, than "work . . . of real scientific merit," since it relieves the racist (communist, Republican, vegetarian) of the need to prove anything, when he can validly argue that the scientists are intentionally stacking the deck against his side.

It was earlier noted that Faurisson has had a group of French supporters, more or less leftist, almost from the beginning of his "affair." Some of them wrote articles attempting to explain the nature and degree of their support, and what further thoughts have come to them as a result. All of course support his right to research the subject and publish his revisionist conclusions, but all also state concurrence with his theses only to degrees. These articles were put together by Pierre Guillaume, not in his capacity as owner of the publishing house La Vieille Taupe, but as editor of the series "Le Puits et le Pendule" (whose members have been published both by Editions de la Différence and by the larger house J.E. Hallier/Albin Michel), and published as a book under the title *Intolérable Intolérance*.

Readers acquainted with recent history and controversies will, with only one exception, find that these essays deal with generally familiar matters. The exception is the contribution of lawyer Eric Delcroix, which requires some acquaintance with the French legal system.

Cohn-Bendit, self described "Jew of the extreme left," seems most astonished at his present position, as he used to use, against the revisionists, "all the responses that are made to (him) today." Worse, today he is strange bedfellow to "people of the right, even fascist types . . . and this situation is to (him) insupportable." However he holds up under the pressure and realizes past sins: "I helped myself to democratic principles for my right of expression and found all sorts of good arguments to justify the prohibition of other ideas." In the Faurisson affair he has seen particularly impressive demonstrations of the fact that formal prohibition is not the only form of effective censorship, and that there is also the form that buries issues by declining to meet them directly and instead attacks the supposed motivations and consequences associated with a given thesis. Despite all this, he still considers himself "a convinced 'exterminationist,'" but not a believer in the gas chambers; he compares Hitler's anti-Jewish policy to past Indian policies in the U.S.A., Armenian policies in Turkey, and Tatar policies of Stalin.

I should remark, parenthetically, that the word "exterminationist" means, in this context, "one who believes in the extermination of the Jews at the hands of the Germans during WW II." Sometimes it more narrowly designates a prominent promoter of the extermination legend, e.g. Hilberg, Dawidowicz, Wiesenthal, or Poliakov. It is a strange term, but it seems to have caught on.

Monteil's essay is a refutation of the judgment against Faurisson of 8 July 1981 (translations of passages from some of these judgments appeared in *Patterns of Prejudice*, October 1981). The court, after recognizing that it has "neither the quality nor the competence to judge history (and has) not been charged by law with a mission to decide how this or that episode of national or world history must be represented," proceeded to do just that, e.g. "Faurisson has fixed his attention, in an almost exclusive fashion, on one of the means of extermination of which the reality has been established since the end of WW II and the discovery of the concentration camp system." Monteil raises more or less routine points against such doublethink and then indicates imminent agreement with Faurisson:

Until 1978 I believed in the general existence (or pretty much so) of the gas chambers in the camps, while having reservations on the unverifiable and surely excessive number of Jewish victims of the "Holocaust." It suffices to cite my book (unlocatable, by reason of the obstruction of the "Hachette octopus" which "strangled" Guy Authier, my publisher)—*Dossier secret sur Israel: le terrorisme* (Paris, March 1978)—to see what my position was then. But since then I have read and met Robert Faurisson: his earnestness and his good faith have convinced me, even if certain judgments appear disputable to me, that it is justifiably urgent to discuss them calmly, in place of heaping onto an honest and courageous investigator the anathema reserved to heretics!

Tristani, a social scientist at the Sorbonne, with degrees in theology and philosophy, finds a striking religious character in the whole affair. Such an idea should not be new to a student of this subject. Indeed, I have discussed (Hoax, 188f) the remarkable parallels between the "war crimes trials" and the witchcraft trials of centuries ago, and found those parallels far more convincing than parallels that could be drawn between the war crimes trials and earlier narrowly politically motivated trials. However Tristani's point of departure is different:

The Holocaust, which represents one of the most popular themes of contemporary Judaism, thus falls into a long tradition. It is bound up with what it would be necessary to call the "invention of Israel," of the Israel of today. The Hitlerian genocide perpetrated in the gas chambers, the Exodus and the creation of the Israeli state, do they not attain in effect the lofty meaning which the servitude in Egypt, the Exodus, and the installation in the Promised Land once had?

Tristani finds fault with the revisionists for apparently ignoring such matters:

Would not the "frivolity" reproached to Faurisson consist rather in having underestimated the importance of this religious function which the accounts of the gas chambers and the genocide have acquired? Moreover the same question holds for Serge Thion because, from the anthropological point of view where it becomes indispensable to place oneself to understand this affair, the primary alternative is not between historical truth and political truth but between historical and religious truth.

To this I must comment that such a criticism of Faurisson holds at best only in relation to his published writings. He and I have long been generally aware of the relationships that Tristani calls attention to. We discussed the matter at length in 1980 when he was in the U.S.A. His attitude on the subject was far from frivolous, as he saw this secularized religious hysteria as bringing the whole world down on him. I can say that my failure, and perhaps also Faurisson's failure, to expound publicly on such matters is based on certain personal limitations, self or otherwise imposed, on the sorts of things considered manageable in terms of investigation and public discourse. I am happy to see that there are now authors, such as Tristani, who wish to tread this ground, as it is as interesting as it is treacherous, and I look forward to further developments.

The longest and, I would say, most representative essay in this book is Karnoouh's. Its major function is to interpret the "Holocaust" controversy from a point of view that is both leftist and friendly to Faurisson. Following the strange leftist practice of describing the millenial assertive, repressive and exploitive strivings of states as somehow partaking especially of the spirit of the

recent, short lived and relatively benign (in comparison to its contemporaries) Mussolini movement, Karnoouh finds that

present day fascism has taken other faces, under the American tutelage; it has invaded the Third World (as witness) Somoza's Nicaragua, Stroesner's Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Indonesia . . . western Europe no longer needs concentration camps on its territories; it has displaced them elsewhere, where the reproduction of capital is facilitated with the aid of slave labor . . . and Israel hardly deprives itself of this facility . . .

For Karnoouh Israel fits into such a world very comfortably since "Zionism is also a national and socialist European ideology," i.e. it was developed in Europe contemporaneously with the other nationalist, socialist and racist ideologies that we are acquainted with by direct experience, and it grew to political consequence in the same epoch. Thus

The slow and irresistible displacement of Israel towards the American camp is also quite comprehensible if account is taken of the power . . . of the American Jewish community. And, without wishing to establish too simplistic a comparison, it is not insignificant (that) the Jewish state seems to play the role of custodian watching over the Mideast for the sake of American Imperialism.

Now the visibility of such relationships could put Israel and the Diaspora Jews into a defensive position perilous enough to cause the latter to entertain serious questions on the wisdom of supporting the Zionist enterprise. In Karnoouh's view, the "Holocaust" provides the necessary binding:

... The nation-state has always had need of these simplified representations of history . . . in order to turn popular and collective emotions to its profit.

Only a religious or mythical version of the deportation and massacre of the Jews, the "Holocaust," can assume this role because it simplifies history and transforms the contradictions and quite complex political, ideological and economic conflicts into a Manichean saga which expresses the eternal struggle between Good and Evil, the "Goy" and the Jew, the German and the Jew, the Arab and the Jew.

This sort of formulation must be expected from a leftist source but, in any case, there is much truth in it. Among the many reservations I have, it is worthwhile to mention two particularly important ones. First, Israel does not represent or guard American interests in the Mideast. The relationship is the reverse and to the American disadvantage. For another thing, I believe it is misleading to view the basic role of the "Holocaust" propaganda in terms of its effect on Jews. While the propaganda doubtless has the unifying effect among Jews that Karnoouh notes, it is paraded loudly and massively before predominantly gentile audiences, and its

function should be considered in this light. Indeed the especially massive propaganda of approximately the past five years is not a response to any weakening of links between Israel and the Diaspora. If I may risk a charge of immodesty, it seems to me that it is a response to the revisionists.

Karnoouh seems to get some things backward when they relate directly to Jews, and that brings us to the secondary role of his essay. Karnoouh is of Jewish ancestry, but does not consider himself Jewish. However even that view, when expressed in his writing, reveals the existence of a "Jewish question."

Can I today define myself in all sincerity as a Jew? Delicate question, (and to) the defense lawyer who asked it I answered: "For the anti-semites and racists, I am a Jew, for other men I am simply a man who belongs to the French culture." This affirmation earned me the hatred of not only the xenophobic spectators but also that of certain of my friends, among the most tolerant, who considered the sentiment a betrayal on my part. In a few seconds, I had become a renegade who abandoned his own in the moment of "the danger." But does one have the right to associate me with an identity which does not relate to my experience and which, consequently, is more or less exterior to my consciousness?

This view is both refreshingly rational and disturbingly paradoxical for, after all, Karnoouh has now given us a long and carefully considered essay in which his Jewish background is certainly not "exterior to (his) consciousness." How does one resolve the apparent cohabitation of reason and paradox in Karnoouh's views? If there is a way, many would be very interested to learn it, for we are here confronted not with a mere transient "problem" but with the quite subsistent and indeed robust "Jewish question." This cannot be a revelation to Pierre Guillaume and Editions de la Différence for they have issued, almost simultaneously, a new printing of Bernard Lazare's 1894 classic, *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes*.

In summary, *Intolérable Intolérance* is an uneven book. It ranges from the trite, through the engaging, to the provocative. It is nevertheless a very important book, despite or even because of the nature of its shortcomings, and we must thank the authors and publishers for making it available. Its importance derives not only from new insights that it offers, but also from its posing of challenging questions in an area of social relations in which thought has been in a state of suspension and controversy in a state of evasion for several decades at least. As its points of departure are not esoteric historical questions but current controversies, it is just the sort of book that can set into operation critical faculties that have been accumulating dust and even rust in this period of "suspension" of thought. It is hoped that an English translation will appear.

I should add a note on the availability, to the U.S. reader, of the books reviewed here. *Intolérable Intolérance* can be obtained through any established dealer in foreign books, via his special order. *Mémoire en Défense*, however, should be ordered directly from La Vieille Taupe in Paris. That is also the case for Thion's *Vérité Historique ou Vérité Politique?*, as the distributor mentioned in my earlier review of that book is no longer handling it.

I close with a partial report on Faurisson's litigations. The most serious dangers that his enemies raised for him were based on a statement he made in an interview on French TV on 17 December 1980:

The historical lie has permitted a gigantic political-financial swindle, whose principal beneficiaries are the state of Israel and international Zionism, and whose principal victims are the German people, but not their leaders, and the whole of the Palestinian people.

For this he was charged with defamation of the Jewish people (group libel) and incitement to racial hatred. Found guilty of both, he was ordered to pay damages and fines totalling 21,000 francs, given a three month prison sentence (suspended) and, most important, ordered to pay for the reproduction of the judgment in four publications and over national TV (*Le Monde*, 5-6 July 1981). The last requirement involved a sum of about half a million dollars and was well beyond his means. The situation looked particularly ominous as there is no law of personal bankruptcy in France (only a business can go bankrupt there).

His appeal against this ruling, announced 23 June 1982, brought success for him on this most grave part of the judgment, and his conviction for incitement to racial hatred was overturned. However the charge of defamation of the Jewish people was sustained, as were the fines, damages, and suspended prison sentence (*Le Monde*, 26 June 1982).

Faurisson's supporters breathed a sigh of relief over the important successful part of the appeal outcome. That which has been left standing is nevertheless a moral and intellectual outrage. In an age in which virtually all sectors of public opinion have proclaimed their devotion to "freedom" with the persistence of an absent minded devout who has lost count of his Hail Marys, a professor is being punished for announcing the politically unpopular conclusions of his research. This observation would hold even if Faurisson had been victorious in the first instances in all his trials. The professional and international yappers for "freedom", whom we hear so often, have with only scattered and isolated exceptions either pretended that they never heard of Faurisson, or found rationalizations to excuse his persecution. This fact is almost not worth mentioning, because the hypocrisy referred to is all too familiar.

Faurisson's trials are not concluded.

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The Journal of Historical Review

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Contents

Correspondence	357
Yalta: Fact or Fate? A Brief Characterization <i>Dr. A.R. Wesserle</i>	359
Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy <i>Arthur R. Butz</i>	371
Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian National Army, and The War of India's Liberation <i>Ranjan Borra</i>	407
Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS <i>Leon Degrelle</i>	441
Book Review	469
About the Contributors	480

From the Editor

We're pleased to present in this issue three of the papers delivered at the IHR's 1982 Chicago Revisionist Conference.

We begin with Dr. Wesserle's "Yalta: Fact or Fate?" which presents a concise characterization of the man we sent to Yalta and an analysis of what he did for his country there when not posing for photographs with Winnie and Uncle Joe.

Next, Dr. Butz takes a fresh look at the evolved Holocaust controversy, assessing its place in the context and perspective of higher history.

Leon Degrelle diverted a grim fate by escaping to Spain in the final days of the Eastern Front's collapse. Picking up the pieces and rebuilding his life, today he is alive, successful and eager to tell his side on the issues of the war, the Waffen SS and NS Germany. The article you will read here is a translation of the videotaped interview General Degrelle gave at his home in Spain recently and which was presented at the Chicago conference in September.

Ranjan Borra heads the Reference Library on India at the Library of Congress and has long been a student of Subhas Bose and his role in India's liberation movement. We're pleased to include Mr. Borra's paper in this issue—presented at the IHR's 1980 Revisionist Conference—and apologize for the tardiness of its appearance in print.

George Orwell observed: "Some people go around smelling after anti-Semitism all the time." It would appear to be true and rather increasingly so since Orwell's day. In this issue L.A. Rollins reviews Ernest Volkman's *A Legacy of Hate*, the cult of anti-anti-Semitism's latest prognosis of that chronic disease which is only today beginning to be fully misunderstood.

Correspondence

MORE ON THE ROMANIAN JEWS

In the last (Fall 1982) Journal of Historical Review, we ran in these columns a correspondence which attempted to clarify the losses of Romanian Jews during the war. We failed to include in that correspondence a final letter/circular by Dr. Andronescu without which the research data would appear to be inconclusive. Here now is Dr. Andronescu's final reply to those who disputed his claims as published originally in "Romanians and the Holocaust," in the Summer 1982 Journal. —Ed.

In my lecture at the 1981 Revisionist Convention I stated that the real number of Jews who died in Romania in WW II had been estimated at 15,000. In Mr. Weber's opinion I was wrong because, he said, the real number was 209,214. Both figures are mentioned in a study authored by two scholars, Dr. Manuila and Dr. Filderman (one Romanian and one Jewish) and published in Rome, Italy in 1957. It is the only study underwritten by the two parties involved in the events that took place in Romania during the war, the Jews and the Romanians. All the other reports on the same situation, showing figures ranging from 200,000 to 500,000 are underwritten by the Jews alone and are therefore partial. It is therefore important to have an accurate understanding of the Manuila/Filderman paper, the only authoritative document in the field.

The document contains among judicious remarks and conclusions a confusing sentence—and this particular confusing sentence has been chosen by Mr. Weber to construe his theory. I will reproduce here two paragraphs of the Manuila/Filderman paper relating to the two figures mentioned above; it is my belief that the concerned reader understands easily which one is true and which one is misleading.

1. (page 7 of the Manuila/Filderman paper): "The losses incurred as a direct result of the war have been estimated at 15,000 souls by the Jewish organizations of Romania under the leadership of Dr. Filderman. This figure includes the loss of some 3,000 lives suffered during the brief administration of the Iron Guard, and 3,000-4,000 (exact number not known) victims of the military reprisals at Iasi. It also includes the losses suffered by the population deported to Transnistria . . . Dr. Filderman gives the total of deaths on Romanian territory or during the deportation as close to 15,000."

2. (pages 11 and 12 of same paper): "For the territories of Romania as they were in 1939, Jewish losses (deaths and missing) are estimated at a total of 209,214."

Of both statements, Mark Weber likes the second one and reproves me for adopting the first. I have adopted it because it is clear and explicit, whereas the second is confusing. The year used in the second statement, 1939, misleads the reader and creates a false understanding of the whole situation however true it seems to be. Here is why.

Whatever happened to the Jews living in Romania did not occur in 1939 but during a period of four years immediately following 1940 when the population in Romania was much smaller than in 1939. It also occurred on a Romanian territory which was much smaller than in 1939. Before 1940 and after 1944 nothing unusual happened to Jews living in Romania and therefore any discussion relating to the "Holocaust" but referring to a period other than 1940-1944 is false; it is a substitution of premises made with the purpose of arriving at a wrong conclusion, even though the figures used in such a substitution are true. Such substitution of premises is characteristic of the confusing manner of expression used sometimes by the stipendiary mass media to give the reader a doctored image of the reality based however on real data. In logic, it is called "fallacy of ambiguity." Mark Weber fell prey to this kind of fallacy and adopted the figure 209,214 instead of 15,000.

In fact, nothing wrong happened to Jews living in Romania in 1939 or before that year. It is therefore nonsensical to discuss the Jewish losses for the territories of Romania as they were in 1939. I repeat, whatever happened to the "Romanian" Jews occurred only after 1939, in a period from 1940 to 1944, when the situation of Romania was quite different of the situation of 1939. In 1940, the Romanian territory and population (Jewish population included) decreased considerably when sizable parts of Romania were occupied by Hungarians, Soviets, and Bulgarians. As a result, about 400,000 Jews who could be called "Romanian" in 1939 and lived in the occupied Romanian territories changed their allegiance and automatically became "Hungarian," "Soviet," or "Bulgarian" Jews. From 1940 on, these Jews shared the fate of their Hungarian, Soviet or Bulgarian coreligionists and were counted as such. Only those Jews who remained in nationalist Romania of 1940-1944 could legally be called "Romanian." Their number was about 350,000. These must be the people referred to as "Romanian" Jews in various reports on the so called Holocaust. The other were included in whatever happened to "Hungarian," "Soviet," or "Bulgarian" Jews. To include the latter in the number of the former would be tantamount to artificially doubling their number by counting them once as "Romanian" and then once again as "Hungarian," "Soviet," or "Bulgarian." This point of view had been observed by the two parties who drew up the document of 1957 and especially the paragraph quoted by me under 1. on the previous page. It was not a matter of preference or opinion, it was a matter of arithmetic.

Another misguiding interpretation of the same situation appears when we consider some of the "Hungarian" Jews "Romanian" because Northern Transylvania came back to Romania after the war. We should be aware that this change of administration happened only after the war and, again, whatever happened to "Hungarian" Jews during the war should not be included in whatever happened to "Romanian" Jews during the same period of time, otherwise we artificially double the number of the same people.

On the other hand, many Jews of Northern Transylvania who lived through the war have always considered themselves "Hungarian" and I don't see any reason to call them "Romanian" now. It is not correct to

Yalta: Fact or Fate? A Brief Characterization

DR. A.R. WESSERLE

(Presented at the IHR's 1982 Revisionist Conference)

President Francois Mitterrand of France, in a message at the start of 1982, rightly and roundly condemned the Conference of Yalta. France, excluded from the *tete-a-tete* of the Big Three World Conquerors on 4-12 February 1945, thus once again has challenged the Western nations not to recognize the judgments and the boundaries there agreed upon—particularly in Eastern Europe—as inexorable fate. Facts make fate the world over and prejudices and hatreds that had been draped with the mantle of sacred truths in 1945 will no longer be so recognized two generations later.

America has a tendency either to worship or to damn her chiefs of state. The vainglorious emotions presently associated with the centenary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's birth—and that not just in the United States—might be used easily to gloss over some of the most glaring errors committed by this man and his advisors at Yalta, and before at Teheran, and handed down to his successor, Truman at the Conference of Potsdam.

Tellingly, today's Soviet press speaks of FDR in glowing terms. The spring, 1982, issues of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* applaud his sense of vision, first, in recognizing the USSR diplomatically but, above all, in his wartime relationship to the rulers of the Kremlin which laid the foundations for "international stability and security." President Reagan's foreign policy, on the other hand, is excoriated as the very antithesis of Roosevelt's "rationality."

No wonder. FDR and his most intimate advisors made sweeping global concessions to the Soviet totalitarians which drastically

altered the face of the earth and substantially impeded the work of his successors. Briefly, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's presence at Yalta had consequences in the Far East, the Mid East, central and western Europe and, of course, in the world at large.

PART I

In exchange for a vague promise to enter the war against Japan two or three months after the end of the European war—a promise kept only on 8 August 1945, after the first atomic bomb already had been dropped—Stalin's "sphere of influence," via the Manchurian railways, was extended to northern and southern Manchuria including the commercial harbor of Dairen and the naval base of Port Arthur, his "status quo" domination over Outer Mongolia was acknowledged, and he was allowed to annex outright the Kuril Islands and southern Sakhalin which had been Japanese since 1875 and 1905. Thus, with Roosevelt's encouragement, Stalin continued his policy of imperialist Red expansion in the footsteps of the Tsars. The results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 which once had given rise to the Russian revolts of the same year and, ultimately, to the Revolutions of 1917, were expunged. In a move that should seem particularly ironic to Americans, Franklin Roosevelt destroyed the outcome of the Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905, arranged through the good offices of his cousin, President Theodore Roosevelt, and celebrated by a front-page cartoon in the Harper's Weekly of 24 June of that year which shows a solemn President urging a glowering Tsar and a proud Mikado to "Let us Have Peace."¹

Note that, true to ancient imperial tradition, the legally constituted Government of China, engaged in a life-and-death struggle, was not apprised of those generous gifts of its sovereignty and its territory to a powerful neighbor until too late. The following weighty conversation between Roosevelt and Stalin—otherwise attended only by Molotov, Harriman and two translators—held toward 4 p.m. of Saturday, 10 February 1945, decides the fate of the largest nation on earth:

Roosevelt: ". . . Naturally, our agreement about Port Arthur and the railroads needs China's approval. Would you like to inform T.V. Soong (the Foreign and Prime Minister of China) . . . ? Or should I treat the matter with Chiang-Kai-Shek?"

Stalin: "It would be better if you approached him."

Roosevelt: "Good . . . I'll send an officer to Chungking (China's wartime capital)." ²

Without success Harriman tried to persuade the President to have at least Port Arthur declared a free port under international supervision. At the Conference of Cairo, in November, 1943, FDR had promised Chiang-Kai-Shek the complete return of Man-

chukuo or Manchuria to China.

In East Asia, therefore, Yalta opened the door to Soviet expansion and to the 'communization' of heavily industrial, formerly Japanese-dominated Manchuria, of northern China and Mongolia and, ultimately, of most of that huge continent north and east of Iran, India, Burma and Thailand. Without FDR America's costly land wars in Korea and Indochina would have been less inevitable.

In the Middle East, Churchill and Roosevelt had permitted the USSR to occupy the former Tsarist Sphere of Influence in the north of Iran which included the volatile regions and provinces of Kurdistan, Azerbeijan, Gilan, Mazanderan, Gorgan and Khorasan. Britain swallowed the rest. These developments took place on and after 25 August 1941, while the ink was not yet dry on the paper of the Atlantic Charter in which Roosevelt and Churchill had proclaimed the inviolability of the independence, the territories and the boundaries of nations.

In the meantime, from 1941 to 1945, the Soviet Union increased her pressure on Turkey and Iraq, nations which were similar to Iran in that they were neutral but traditionally had been in the crossfire of British, Russian and French power interests. Soviet plans included territorial and economic concessions such as the "leasing" or the donation of the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to the USSR and the handing over of the eastern provinces of Turkey—again a direct continuation of Tsarist Imperialism.

At Yalta, on 10 February, after 6 p.m., the seventh plenary session yields this result concerning Turkey:

Stalin: "... According to the Convention of Montreux (1936—the author) the Turks have the right to close the Straits not only in case of war, but also when, in their opinion, the danger of war exists. I demand an immediate revision of the convention . . . It is an intolerable situation that Turkey can throttle Russia at any time."

Roosevelt: "I understand you completely! I hate it when nations erect barriers between each other. Look at the 3000 mile long boundary between Canada and the United States: no fort and no soldier stand on the entire border. Besides, it is . . . understandable that the USSR wishes to have an ice-free port in the west" (underlined by author).

Churchill: "I am also in agreement, under the condition that the independence and the integrity of Turkey are guaranteed." 3

After some discussion the Soviet request wins the day. At Yalta as in the long run, Britain proved unable to resist Stalin in the face of American amity toward the Soviets and it was not until 1946-47 that President Truman saw his way toward containment in the Near East.

In toto, it may be stated with but slight hyperbole that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1980, her threat to Turkey and the eastern Mediterranean, her designs on the Persian Gulf, on Arabia and on East Africa, and her power dominance over most of Asia north and east of a line from Baghdad to Bombay to Bangkok, were made much easier by Yalta, as well as by Teheran and Potsdam.

PART II

In Europe, the conclusions of the Yalta Conference concerning the division of Germany west of the Oder River into zones administered by an Allied Control Council were kept rigidly, months later, by the Americans and the British. It should never be forgotten that the heart of Europe, vital to the survival of all the continent, East or West, had been occupied by the forces of the West first and then abandoned to the depredations of the Red Army. This heartland included western and southern Bohemia with the large industrial city of Pilsen, the German state of Thuringia, heavily industrial Saxony up to the Elbe River, parts of Brandenburg-Prussia and of the Baltic coastal state of Mecklenburg.

Despite the urgings of the United States' General Patton, of Winston Churchill—who had “seen the light” about Soviet power far too late—and of General Montgomery, American politicians still under the spell of Yalta expressly declined, from March to May, 1945, to take Berlin and Prague while it was still possible. Patton's forces were grounded by administrative fiat in Bohemia a few miles west of Prague even though a jeep, or jeeps, full of American G.I.'s toured Prague and were celebrated by the populace. Had Prague been occupied by America, the frightful atrocities visited by Czech mobs on their German compatriots—compatriots of 800 to 1000 years—would have been avoided. Had Pilsen, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Wismar been kept, and had Berlin and Prague been taken by America and Britain—steps which would have required few sacrifices in 1945—all of European and world history since then would have differed fundamentally from today's sorry “reality.”

The charge, sometimes disputed, that in 1944 and early 1945 Churchill and Roosevelt abandoned the Polish Government-in-Exile in London to Stalin's designs by ceding eastern Poland to him while throwing to the Poles, in compensation, the territories of eastern Germany, is justified. When the Polish premier-in-exile, Stanislas Mikolajczyk, visited Roosevelt in June 1944, the latter explained to him that “Stalin is no imperialist . . . (He) is very deft, . . . has a sense of humor.”⁴

In illustration of this humor Roosevelt related "Uncle Joe's" toast, at the Conference of Teheran, to the "death of at least 50,000 German officers" to which Churchill had reacted angrily and which he, FDR, then sought to improve by toasting to the death of "... at least 49,500 German officers in battle."⁵ Prime Minister Mikolajczyk and his ambassador, Ciechanowski, apparently failed to be amused as they were reminded of the fate of 20,000 Polish officers "liquidated" by Stalin, some of them thrown into mass graves in the woods near Katyn.

Caught between the Kremlin's devices and the aspirations of his nation, Mikolajczyk resigned in November, 1944. His successor Arciszewski—a socialist and a fighter in the Polish underground until July 1944—was equally unwilling to impart his blessings to an act of national catastrophe. On 3 February 1945, Arciszewski sent Roosevelt a telegram the text of which, in excerpts, is worth remembering:

I trust that you will not take part in any decision which endangers Poland's legitimate rights or her independence and that, in regard to Poland, you will not recognize any *faits accomplis* . . . If the European peace is to endure it must rest upon the principles of justice, of respect for the law, of good-neighborly relations and of trust, in the lives of peoples. . .

The so-called Provisional Government in Lublin has declared openly that it will treat all soldiers of the Inner-Polish Army and of the Polish Underground Movement as traitors . . . Mass arrests and deportations already have taken place . . .⁶

The White House gave Ambassador Ciechanowski the cold shoulder. He succeeded but once in grabbing hold of Roosevelt's intimus, Harry Hopkins: "What could be more important than laying the cornerstone, now, for the future cooperation of united nations on the basis of American principles and the Four Basic Freedoms?" In a fit of laughter Hopkins replied, "We also have to think of the 1948 elections!"

Premier Arciszewski, his government, and his nation were sacrificed to the communist-dominated "Lublin Government" formed under Stalin's aegis.

Thus, Yalta, its antecedents and its consequences can in fact be blamed for the futility of the periodic uprisings in Soviet-occupied Central Europe: for the uprising in the Soviet Zone of Germany, 17-19 June 1953; for the revolts in Poland in the spring of 1956, in 1970 and in 1981/82; for the Hungarian Revolution of 1956; for the Spring and the Fall of Prague, 1968. Without Yalta these fateful bloodbaths, this oppression of the spirit of entire, great nations would not have taken place. Without Yalta they would have been unnecessary.

PART III

National catastrophe on a cataclysmic scale befell the people of Germany, her old men, women and children.

Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam laid the foundation for the most abhorrent "ethnocide" in history: the expulsion of twenty million (20 million) Germans and Hungarians from their age-old national homelands in central and eastern Europe, and the attendant destruction of many of them: in the Soviet Union; the Baltic states; Poland proper; the lands of eastern Germany; Czechoslovakia; Transylvania and the Carpathians; Rumania and Yugo-Slavia.

In brief, by the end of 1950, 7.95 million Germans from the east had experienced an "orderly transfer" to the three western zones (the Federal Republic of Germany), 4.4 million to the Soviet Zone, and over 300,000 to Austria. By 1952 the number of German expellees in West Germany had risen to ten million, with an additional 2.2 million political refugees—not expellees—from the Soviet Zone of Germany by August 1953—a problem of stark survival and of absorption into a war-shattered country of a magnitude unparalleled anywhere.

More than three million men, women and children from the German areas of east-central and eastern Europe perished or are listed as "missing" in the desolate wastes of the Soviet Union. Mass expulsions of Germans had been contemplated since 1848 and, with growing vehemence, since 1866 by the Pan-Slav theorists of Prague and Moscow and, since about the turn of the century, by Western ideologues such as the British geopolitician and Chairman of the Imperial Shipping Committee, Halford Mackinder. The storms of outraged indignation which swept Britain when Germany rose to the rank of naval power were stoked carefully by the press lords of Fleet Street. The jingoist outcries in which such papers as the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the periodical *Vanity Fair* indulged paralleled the more weighty sentiments expressed by dynamic personalities such as First Sea Lord (after 1904) Admiral Sir John Fisher and his superior of later days, First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill. If opinions be permitted, it seems quite clear that these mass media campaigns were rooted in the same persons—or the same circles—and in similar policies at the time both of the First and the Second World Wars.

Several cruel "population transfers" were effected at the end of the First War which, apparently, further whetted the radical appetites of Eduard Benes, at various times League of Nations delegate, Foreign Minister and President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, a sinister figure behind aspects of the Yalta and the Potsdam Conferences.

Still, Yalta stands and falls on its own demerits.

No wonder the Right Hon. Mr. Boothby declared in the House of Commons on 10 October 1945:

Nobody realizes more clearly than I do that the high aspirations expressed in the Atlantic Charter have long ago gone by the board, but few can have thought, even a year ago, that we were fighting this war in order to turn Central and Eastern Europe into a desert containing a decimated population.⁸

JCS 1067 (Joint Chiefs of Staff directive number 1067) almost managed to convert all of western Germany and much of western Europe into a wasteland also. This document, issued in April, 1945, was entitled "Directive to Commander in Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany" and specified:

- ... 4.b. Germany will not be occupied for the purpose of liberation but as a defeated enemy nation . . . You will strongly discourage fraternization with the German officials and population . . .
- 5.a. . . Controls upon the German economy may be imposed . . . as they may be essential to protect the safety and meet the needs of the occupying forces and assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to prevent starvation or such disease and unrest as would endanger these forces . . .
- b. . . Thus it should be brought home to the German people that the responsibility . . . for any breakdowns in those controls will rest with themselves and German authorities . . .
- 16. . . You will take no steps (a) looking toward the economic rehabilitation of Germany, or (b) designed to maintain or strengthen the German economy . . .⁹

Under the conditions of utter chaos then prevailing in Germany JCS 1067, if put into effect according to the letter of the law, would have rung the death knell both for tens of millions of people in West Germany and, probably, for the reconstruction of the highly interdependent economies of all of Western Europe, as well. The probable consequences might have been anarchy and revolt in the entire region—and a welcome opportunity for communism to step into the void.

Who had drawn up this remarkable paper? In 1944, three United States Government agencies had composed competing versions looking toward a putative reconstruction of Germany: (1) the Department of State under Secretary of State Hull; (2) the War Department under—the Republican—Secretary Stimson and his able and intelligent Assistant Secretary, McCloy; and (3) the Treasury Department. What seems to have been true of other eras of the twentieth century U.S. history also proved true in this case; the State Department was too weak to make its more statesmanlike version prevail, the War Department was interested mainly in planning for a non-political, military, occupation and it was the Treasury—with Roosevelt's support—that won the

day and the year and the war. The name of the Secretary of the Treasury was Henry Morgenthau. His closest assistant was the communist, Harry Dexter White.

Lest we jump to unnecessary conclusions I should emphasize that the Morgenthau-White Plans—Morgenthau's variation was more severe than White's—in their destructiveness echoed the counsel of British Conservative Vansittart whose roots, in turn, were firmly implanted in the mass media hate campaigns that preceded and accompanied the conduct of the First World War on the British side.

Rebus sic stantibus it was not until 15 July 1947, that JCS 1067 was superseded by JCS 1779 and its more statesmanlike terms:

While continuing restraints . . . our Military Government (will take) measures which will bring about the establishment of stable political and economic conditions in Germany and which will enable Germany to make a maximum contribution to European recovery . . .

. . . 5. It is an objective of the United States Government that there should arise in Germany as rapidly as possible a form of political organization and a manner of political life which, resting on a substantial basis of economic well being, will lead to tranquillity within Germany and will contribute to the spirit of peace among nations . . . 10

On 20 July 1948, the Western Allies and Dr. Erhardt carried out the Currency Reform, a monumental first step toward economic and political reconstruction. From 26 June 1948, to 29 July 1949, the Soviets blockaded Berlin and the West replied with the Air Lift. On 4 April 1949, the United States and her Western Allies established NATO. After nine months of deliberation the new constitution, the German Basic Law, was ratified on 23 May, 1949. The first elections to the Parliament at Bonn followed in August. Dr. Adenauer, the Catholic former mayor of Cologne, was the first Federal Chancellor of Germany.

Conclusion

Tentative characterization of Roosevelt's wartime diplomacy. Briefly, very briefly, the surest conclusion concerning FDR's conduct of foreign relations is that this scion of the East Coast Upper Caste was neither a communist nor a socialist, appearances to the contrary. Neither was he a realist—self-proclaimed or otherwise—nor an idealist who strove to master the concrete demands of life, in the mold of President Woodrow Wilson. No. Quite simply, he was a power politician whose talents in juggling and besting the competing interest groups of this country proved insufficient to wrest a lasting peace from the jaws of victory abroad. He, and his most intimate advisors, had little inkling of

what an intelligent policy of prudent self-interest meant for his country and for himself. He had hedged himself in with a rigid ideology which distorted his perceptions and his policies. He sought escape from ideological rigidity in the arms of an equally rigid, starry-eyed, aura of overblown "plans" on a cosmic scale. Placed face-to-face with a serious global situation as the leader of the strongest country on earth he proved delinquent to America, a disaster to the world.

Three examples: At Yalta, on Saturday, 10 February, Harry Hopkins slips Roosevelt this incomprehensible note (on the matter of exacting reparations worth 20 billion gold dollars from Germany): "Mr. President, the Russians have given in so much at this conference that I don't think we should let them down. Let the British disagree if they want to . . ." ¹¹ Roosevelt gives in.

His intransigence on the "unconditional surrender" formula at the Conference of Casablanca, and later, met with the feigned opposition of Churchill and, initially, even of Stalin who reasoned that it would prolong the war by provoking disparate resistance among the peoples of the Axis Powers, particularly the Germans and the Japanese. His reply to this opposition, and to similar objections from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and his comment on the State Department memoranda that the German Army and the German people were ready—in 1943-44—to make peace "over the heads of the Nazi Government" took the following form:

Washington, 1 April 1944, . . . I have spoken with Admiral Leahy . . . The trouble is that the reasoning of the memorandum presupposes a reconstituting of a German state which would give active cooperation apparently at once to peace in Europe. A somewhat long study and personal experience in and out of Germany (!—the author) leads me to believe that German philosophy cannot be changed by decree, law or military order. The change in German philosophy must be evolutionary and may take two generations . . . ¹²

On his return from the Quebec Conference, Roosevelt calls Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York to the White House for a friendly chat, on 2 September 1943:

The division (of the world) will be simple . . . The Far East goes to China. The Pacific to the United States. Africa and Europe will be divided between Russia and Great Britain . . . I hope the Russian intervention in Europe won't be too rough . . . (It is to be expected that Germany, Austria, Hungary, Croatia and other countries will receive Communist-dominated governments) But what can we do about it? . . . Hopefully, due to the influence of the Europeans, the Russians will become less barbaric in the next ten to twenty years . . . France might escape communism if it gets a government a la Leon Blum . . . ¹³

On FDR's ideas about which other European countries might be saved from communism, he intended to allow popular elections in: "France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Greece. Not . . . Czechoslovakia."¹⁴ No mention of Denmark and Sweden, nor of Turkey. Not a glimmering of comprehension of the conditions which the realization of his facile dreams would impose upon the entire world and this, his own, country.

As for Yalta, its precedents and its consequences still are very much with us today. They promise to remain so for some time to come.

Footnotes

1. Harper's Weekly, *Journal of Civilization*, Volume XLIX; Saturday, 24 June 1905
2. Arthur Conte, *Die Teilung der Welt. Yalta 1945*, Munchen, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1967, p. 300
French original: *Yalta ou le partage du monde*
3. Conte, *op. cit.*, p. 304
4. Conte, *op. cit.*, p. 70
5. *Ibid.*
6. Conte, *op. cit.*, p. 75
7. *Ibid.*
8. Wenzel Jaksch, *Europe's Road to Potsdam*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, p. 405
9. Germany, 1947-1949, "1945 Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Forces of Occupation" (JCS 1067), Washington, D.C., 1950, pp. 23-27
10. Germany, *op. cit.*, p. 34, "1947 Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Forces of Occupation" (JCS 1779)
11. Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, Volume 2: "From Pearl Harbor to Victory," New York, Bantam Books, p. 503
12. *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Diplomatic Papers 1944, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1959, p. 484: "Consideration of the Application of 'Unconditional Surrender' Terms to Germany; Unofficial Peace Feelers from Germany," 17 December 1943; p. 499: "The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State," 7 February 1944; pp. 501-502: "Memorandum by the President to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1 April 1944."
13. Conte, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95
14. *Ibid.*

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Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy

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(Presented at the IHR's 1982 Revisionist Conference)

Introduction

When in the discussion of some subject we criticize somebody because "he can't see the forest for the trees," we refer to a special sort of intellectual failing. We do not mean that the object of our criticism is incompetent or that his views on the subject of interest are erroneous or irrelevant. His views may, on the contrary, be buttressed by investigations of depth and power that would be a credit to any intellect. We mean that he is so focused on details that he fails to see the subject in proper and larger context, especially from the higher perspective which, if adopted and pursued, would solve many of the problems that excited general curiosity in the subject in the first place.

When I first addressed an IHR conference three years ago I explicitly made reference to this problem by pointing out that on p10 of the *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I had mentioned the consideration that, if appreciated adequately, would have made much of my study superfluous:

The simplest valid reason for being skeptical about the extermination claim is also the simplest conceivable reason; at the end of the war they were still there.

Through all of the controversy on the "Holocaust" my thoughts have continually returned to this point. That so much controversy could have raged, with only rare occurrences of this observation, raises questions that are worth exploring.

On the one hand my making of the above and similar general historical observations in my book shows that I did not myopically see only the trees and not the forest. On the other hand in some parts of the book my focus may seem to be on obscure details and to suggest myopia. This bifocalism is the topic of this paper. For one thing, I want to develop the "forest" side of the subject further, i.e. I want to place the "Holocaust" subject more firmly in the context of the higher history of the twentieth century. On the other hand, I want to consider the fact that so much of the investigation that has been conducted in recent years, certainly including my own, has presupposed and sought to satisfy myopic demands. I will argue, partly from historical analogy, that as a practical matter this great emphasis on detail seems justified and even necessary in the times we are in, but that it is important, even to avoid getting tripped up on points of detail, that we keep the larger context in mind.

Gitta Sereny

Gitta Sereny's article in the *New Statesman* of 2 November 1979 furnishes a useful illustration. She attempted to encounter my arguments in only one respect. In the course of writing *Into That Darkness* she had interviewed, in a German prison, Franz Stangl, former commandant of Treblinka (a facility in central Poland that served as a transit camp for deportations of Warsaw Jews). She wrote:

I talked with Stangl for weeks in prison; I talked to others who worked under him, and to their families. I talked to people who, otherwise uninvolved, witnessed these events in Poland. And I talked to a few of those very few who survived.

Butz claims in his *Hoax* that those (hundreds) who admitted taking part in extermination were doing so as plea-bargaining, in order to get lighter sentences. But those I talked to had been tried. Many had served their sentences, and none of them had anything to gain—except shame—by what they told me. Stangl himself wanted only to talk, and them to die. And Stangl is dead. But if . . . Butz . . . were really interested in the truth, Stangl's wife, and many other witnesses are still able to testify.

Although the point is not of major importance, I note that Sereny has misleadingly reported Stangl's hopes during her interview. According to her *Into That Darkness* Stangl was awaiting the decision on his appeal against a life sentence, so he presumably wanted to get out of jail before he died.

Anybody who has taken even a brief look at the details of the Treblinka legend (e.g. the claim that the exhausts of captured Russian tanks and trucks were used in the "gassings") would understand that history was not being served by Sereny's re-

marks on her interviews with Stangl. However I am afraid that in the typical case such healthy skepticism might be accompanied by some myopia in offering an explanation for Sereny's account.

The most obvious myopic reaction would be to say or suggest that Sereny was lying, that Stangl never said anything like what she has attributed to him. Other possibilities might be to suggest that such remarks by Stangl were produced by bribery or torture. That such reactions quite miss the mark is easily seen by first considering the context, rather than the content, of Stangl's remarks. He was by then an old man. He had heard the tales of what was supposed to have happened at Treblinka for twenty five years. Of course he privately scoffed at them at first. Then he got accustomed to living in a culture in which such tales were never publicly challenged. He may (as sometimes happens in such circumstances) have started to believe them himself, or perhaps he privately cultivated his knowledge that the tales were almost pure invention. It is most unlikely that we shall ever know, but we do know that in his confrontation with the journalist Sereny, the hapless old man could scarcely have reasoned that he could help himself by denying the legend as it applies to Treblinka. I am confident that Stangl told Sereny something like she reports. Of course Stangl sought to excuse himself personally, but what possible self-serving reason could he have found for telling Sereny that the "gassings" are a myth?

Accordingly I wrote in my letter of reply to the *New Statesman*, which was not published there but was published in this journal:¹

The key point is that the objective served by such statements should be presumed to be personal interest rather than historical truth. At a "trial" some specific thing is to be tried, i.e. the court is supposed to start by treating that thing as an open question.

The "extermination" allegation has never been at question in any practical sense in any of the relevant trials, and in some it has not been open to question in a formal legal sense. The question was always only personal responsibility in a context in which the extermination allegation was unquestionable. Thus the "confessions" of Germans, which in all cases sought to deny or mitigate personal responsibility, were merely the only defenses they could present in their circumstances.

This is not exactly "plea-bargaining," where there is negotiation between prosecution and defense, but it is related. All it amounts to is presenting a story that it was possible for the court to accept. The logical dilemma is inescapable once the defendant resolves to take the "trial" seriously. To deny the legend was not the way to stay out of jail.

Moreover it is not true, as Sereny implicitly asserts, that this logical dilemma no longer holds when the defendant is serving a life sentence. If he is seeking pardon or parole, he would not try to overturn what has already been decided in court; that is not the

way pardon or parole works. For example, at the Frankfurt "Auschwitz trial" of 1963-1965, so monstrous were the supposed deeds of Robert Mulka that many thought his sentence to 14 years at hard labor unduly light. Then, in a denouement that would amaze all who have not studied this subject closely, Mulka was quietly released less than four months later. However, if Mulka had claimed in any plea (as he could have truthfully), either at his trial or afterwards, that there were no exterminations at Auschwitz and that he was in a position to know, then he would have served a full life sentence in the former case and the full fourteen years in the latter, if he lived that long.

It is not widely known, but there have been many such instances — the subject is hard to investigate.² In no instance would it have made any sense, in terms of immediate self interest, to deny the exterminations. That was not the way to get out of jail.

If one accepts, as the terms of the debate, the purely defensive attitude of responding to the specific points made by the other side, then I still believe this to be the correct way to answer Sereny. I was satisfied as I wrote those lines but, in the course of so doing, the madness of the immediate context struck me. It was 1979, not 1942, and Sereny was trying to explain to readers of the *New Statesman*, via her account of a lone old man's remarks, that they should believe the "extermination" tales. Continuing the letter, then, I wrote:

We do not need "confessions" or "trials" to determine that the bombings of Dresden and Hiroshima, or the reprisals at Lidice following Heydrich's assassination, really took place. Now, the extermination legend does not claim a few instances of homicide, but alleges events continental in geographical scope, of three years in temporal scope, and of several million in scope of victims. How ludicrous, then, is the position of the bearers of the legend, who in the last analysis will attempt to "prove" such events on the basis of "confessions" delivered under the fabric of hysteria, censorship, intimidation, persecution and blatant illegality that has been shrouding this subject for 35 years.

To put it another way, Sereny in her 1979 article was arguing the reality of the colossal events alleged by reporting what a tired old man recently told her in prison. One might as well argue that the gipsies burned down New York City in 1950, on the basis of confessions of gipsies who were living there at the time. Of course Sereny would argue that I am seizing on only one remark of hers and making it appear to be her whole argument. However, while I concede that she has a great deal more to say on this subject, the basic observation still stands. She was taking a great deal of space in a prominent journal in presenting arguments that in 1979 were wildly incommensurate with the allegation in question. If the Jews of Europe really had been exterminated, such arguments would not be offered.

When I saw Robert Faurisson in 1980 he congratulated me on this point, i.e. for pointing out that we do not need "trials" in order to believe in real historical events (Hiroshima, Lidice, etc.), and said he wished he had thought of it. I knew how he felt for, at about the time of Sereny's article a man I had never heard of before telephoned me and raised a point I wished I had thought of, namely, why didn't those Jewish bodies outside the Axis sphere, who had so much to say about "extermination" and "murder," undertake to warn the Jews under Hitler what supposedly lay in store for them in the German resettlement programs? In all accounts we are told that the Jews packed up for the deportations and entered camps later without imagining that they were to be killed. This feature of the legend is of course necessary for it is well known that violent resistance to the deportations was very rare (I implicitly touched this point on p. 109 of Hoax, but nowhere nearly as strong as I should have).

The general lesson suggested by these two incidents is the subject of this paper. We see that what was involved in both incidents was temporary myopia, not merely of the bearers of the received legend, but more importantly of the revisionists, who were so busy analyzing the trees that it took some fortuitous prodding to make them notice some important features of the forest. This is not a failing of individuals. It is a consequence of the historical circumstances in which we find ourselves. I shall try to describe those circumstances and show how we should handle them today. This is done partly by presenting my approximation of posterity's outlook on these matters, and partly by offering several suggestions on the conduct of practical controversy.

The Donation Of Constantine

The "Donation of Constantine" is the most famous forgery in European history. It first appeared somewhere around the year 800. It is a document allegedly in the "hands" (sic) of Emperor Constantine I (288?-337), which recounts the long standing and false legend of Constantine's conversion and baptism by Pope Sylvester I. Its principal feature is its grant to the Pope of temporal authority over "the city of Rome and all the provinces, places and states of Italy, and the western regions." It also decrees that the Pope "shall have the supremacy as well over the four principal (holy) sees, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople," and makes various additional specific grants. To make it clear that the Donation is in earnest, the document then has Constantine declare his intention to transfer his own capital to "the province of Byzantia (where) a city should be built in our name . . . for where the primate of priests and the head of the Christian religion is established by the Heavenly Emperor, it is not right that an earthly Emperor shall have authority there."

What is of the greatest interest here is that the authenticity of this document was rarely questioned before the fifteenth century, despite the facts that (1) according to legends and histories widely available throughout the Middle Ages and to the document itself, the city that Constantine founded on the ancient site of Byzantium, and which was later called "Constantinople," had not yet been founded, much less made the site of a principal holy see and (2) more conclusively, and in analogy with our "they were still there" observation on the "Holocaust," according to records and histories available throughout the Middle Ages, imperial rule continued in Italy during the times of Constantine, Sylvester, and their immediate successors.

It was certainly not lack of interest or relevance that explains the long failure to see the Donation as a fraud. Much of the political life of the Middle Ages revolved around the controversy over the relative power of Pope and Holy Roman (i.e. German) Emperor, and able intellects participated in circumstances in which the Donation was considered one of the arguments on the side of the Pope. Even Dante (1265-1321), an outspoken enemy of papal temporal power, touched on the Donation in his *Inferno* only to deplore Constantine's granting of it:

O Constantine, what great evil had as its mother
Not your conversion, but that dowry
Which the first rich father got from you!

Thus a wildly ahistoric forgery, approximately in the class of a letter bearing the alleged signature of George Washington, granting the Methodist Episcopal Church "authority to rule over Washington, D.C. and subject territories of North America," went almost unchallenged throughout centuries of relevant controversy.

The first challenges were typically silly, off the mark, tendentious, or circumlocutory, and often, with Dante, challenged only the desirability of the Donation and not its historicity. In the middle of the twelfth century the reform movement of Arnold of Brescia attacked the whole legend of Sylvester and the Donation by arguing that Constantine was already a Christian when he met Sylvester. Among the anti-papal Ghibellines of Germany there arose around 1200 the legend that, when Constantine made the Donation, the angels cried audibly "Alas, alas, this day has poison been dropped into the Church of God." The partisans of the Pope retorted that, sure, the weeping was heard, but it was just the Devil in disguise, trying to deceive us. Others argued that the Donation was not valid because Constantine was tainted with Arian heresy, or because the consent of the people had not been obtained, or because the grant was supposed to apply only to Constantine's reign. Others turned the Donation into a back

handed blow at the papacy by arguing that it showed papal primacy to be derived not from God, but from the Emperor. Indeed the last argument became, until the middle of the fifteenth century, a standard attitude toward the Donation on the part of anti-papal spokesmen. Around 1200 two writers had pointed to the fact of the continuity of imperial rule in Italy after the alleged Donation, but their presentations were circumlocutory and did not reveal their personal conclusions on the matter, and they had no evident influence on future controversy.

What should have been a conclusive critique of the Donation came in 1433, not from an anti-papal source, but from somebody we might characterize as a liberal reformer within the Church. Cusanus, Deacon of St. Florinus of Coblenz, presented for the use of the Council of Basle a critique of the Donation which emphasized the overwhelming historical evidence against any transfer of sovereignty from Emperor to Pope in or just after the time of Sylvester and Constantine.

Cusanus' *De concordantia catholica* had little direct impact, partly because of its dry and dispassionate tone, and partly because it was eclipsed by the 1440 treatise of Lorenzo Valla, *De falso credita et ementita Constantini*. It is Valla's name that is most closely associated with the overthrow of the hoax, partly because his own considerable talents were supplemented by Cusanus' work, partly because of the oratorical and passionate nature of his treatise, and partly because the quickly succeeding developments of printing and the Reformation movement gave the treatise a massive distribution in various translations.

Valla's basic approach was to subject the Donation to criticism from every perspective that was available to him. For example he starts by trying to look at the matter from the perspective of Constantine, "a man who through thirst for dominion had waged war against nations, and attacking friends and relatives in civil strife had taken the government from them," who then allegedly would "set about giving to another out of pure generosity the city of Rome, his fatherland, the head of the world, the queen of states, . . . betaking himself thence to an humble little town, Byzantium." After reading only a few pages of Valla the Donation seems incredible, but the treatise runs to about 80 pages in English translation and is a classic case of "overkill." Valla supported Cusanus' argument, that the alleged transfer of sovereignty had not taken place, with the evidence of the Roman coins of the period, which were issued in the names of Emperors, not Popes. Valla analyzed the language and vocabulary of the Donation document, and showed they could not have represented the sort of Latin used by Constantine. Such methods were novel for the times.

Valla was not a disinterested scholar. At the time he wrote the treatise he was employed as secretary to Alfonso of Aragon, who was contesting the rule of Naples with the Pope. Valla left his reader in no doubt of his view that temporal power of the Pope is bad and ought to be abolished. Nevertheless Valla's treatise is a landmark in the rise of historical criticism, and I believe it can profitably be studied today by those engaged in "debunking the genocide myth."

Although somebody was burned at the stake in Strassburg in 1458 for denying the Donation, Valla's thesis was at first quite well received among educated people, although the treatise remained in manuscript. By 1500 it seemed the legend was finished; the relative quiescence of fundamental controversy on the character of the papacy was probably helpful. However the development of the Reformation movement, and the wide use of Valla's treatise as a weapon against the papacy, had the ironic effect of reviving the defense of the legend. On the one hand Martin Luther declared in 1537 that Valla's treatise had convinced him that the Pope was the embodiment of the Antichrist. On the other hand Steuchus, librarian of the Vatican, produced in 1547 a rather able attack on Valla's treatise, which was put on the Index shortly later. The process of overthrowing the legend could only be considered completed around 1600 when the great Catholic historian Baronius declared that the falsity of the Donation had been proved.

This short sketch begs at least two fundamental questions. First, we have observed that the fraudulence of the Donation seems obvious, on the grounds that the transfer of sovereignty alleged did not in fact take place. Why then did it take so long to expose it?

I believe that the reason is fundamentally that it would have been impolitic, earlier than the Renaissance, to have drawn the obvious conclusions about the Donation. Important political and economic interests are difficult to oppose with mere observations, regardless of how factual and relevant. The two explanations that come most readily to mind, for the overthrowing of the legend at the time it was done, are, first, that the Renaissance introduced a new higher level of scholarship to Europe and, second, that the Reformation assisted anti-papal developments. I believe this interpretation is valid provided it is not thereby implied that the Middle Ages did not have the intellectual acumen to see through the fraud. The political developments of the post-medieval period were decisive in making it safe and even opportune to see the obvious.

We can elaborate on this basically political explanation by noting the old problem; we see the trees, not the forest, unless we make unusual efforts to do otherwise. To see the obvious, it must

first be presented somehow. What people heard in the Donation controversy were the claims of Popes to temporal authority, references to the relevant document, and all sorts of arguments from quarters hostile to the Pope. Roman history, while known to a good extent, was not normally ably presented. For this perhaps amazing omission there are simple explanations. For one thing the Popes represented the entrenched position and called the tune on what was to be discussed; they could hardly be expected to encourage examination on historical grounds. For another thing spokesmen against the Donation, on account of their dissident position, had to address familiar subjects in order to accomplish the practical objective of being heard. Moreover as they typically represented political or religious interests rather than historical studies, they often did not know the relevant history anyway. On the other hand the professional scholars were largely dependent on ecclesiastic authorities for their livelihoods. Thus the field was suitable for a reign of politically founded stupidity.

To ask a second fundamental question, if the fraudulence of the Donation should have been obvious to the unintimidated and inquiring intellect, and if political developments weakened and even removed the intimidation, then why was a lengthy treatise such a Valla's necessary to overthrow it?

The question as posed is loaded, mainly in the sense of presupposing cause and effect relationships. We cannot separate causes and effects in complex events which saw (a) the shattering of the power of the papacy in the Reformation and (b) the overthrowing of one of the impostures which supported that power and (c) the wide circulation of a book exposing that imposture.

At best we can ask what role Valla's treatise played in these events and a good conjecture can be made on the basis of the contents of the treatise, which were far more extensive, and far more detailed, than what was required to prove the thesis. It contained intellectual material of such quantity and diversity that the spread of its influence was all but irresistible. Old coin buffs got something to talk about; the specialists in Latin grammar and language were invited into the controversy; the historians of Rome saw something for them, ditto the historians of the Church. In short, articulate tongues were set wagging against a background of colossal political development.

In my Convention paper three years ago I stressed that extra-academic controversy should not be underrated as a means of nudging the scholars along on controversial subjects. That is to say, and here I am speaking from direct experience as a member of academe, the typical attitude toward "hot" subjects, on the part of the basically honest but all-too-human scholar, is evasion.

To be sure there is a small minority, the hirelings of the profiteers of the reigning thesis, who consciously lie and obfuscate. Eventually there is a small minority that assualts the entrenched position, and whose dissident utterances have the temporary effect of allying a larger minority with the conscious liars, in denunciation of the heretics. However the typical honest scholar, who tries to maintain self respect while paying his bills, evades the hot issue.

This evasion is made difficult or impossible if diverse members of the populace abound with challenging questions. If the popular expression goes far enough, it can transform itself from a factor making evasion impossible, into a factor making heresy relatively safe. Thus do not underrate popularization of hot subjects as a means of nudging or even propelling those who ought to handle them.

The main points I want to make in this section are as follows. Simple and decisive arguments against the Donation of Constantine which, it seems to us, should have been obvious to the Middle Ages, were smothered by the politics of the times. Valla's treatise, going into far more detail than seems necessary to our historical sense, played a crucial practical role in bringing down the legend of the Donation, but this process was inseparably linked to political developments favorable to Valla's thesis and its unintimidated consideration.

The Analogies

The analogies to our own "Holocaust" legend may seem almost too obvious to belabor. The academics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance who would not see the simple stand in painful and embarrassing analogy to academics of today. However it is worthwhile to expand on a few points.

We have seen that the legend of the Donation was overthrown in a period of political development highly unfavorable to the papacy, and this suggests another obvious analogy and expectation: that the Holocaust legend will be overthrown in this period of political development highly unfavorable to Zionism. This anticipated confluence is above all inevitable and inescapable, but it is useful to note its dangerous aspects. It will introduce dangerous pressures, political and intellectual, into the revisionist camp.

For example as this is written the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has made Menachem Begin the most unpopular man, and Israel the most unpopular state, in the world. It can plausibly be argued that the invasion has been brutally negligent of the welfare of innocent Lebanese civilians who have died in shocking numbers or suffered the privations attendant to the Israeli attempt to destroy the PLO forces. It can plausibly be argued that Ameri-

cans have been dopes or dupes for giving Israel almost everything it wanted in the past. However I have read, even in publications friendly to revisionism,³ that the Israeli policy amounts to "genocide," which it does not, either in intent or (thus far) in effect, at least not in my understanding of the meaning of the word, which is somewhat close to "extermination." While such ill conceived cussing may be the norm for the popular press, it is upsetting to see revisionist oriented circles do it for they, above all, should be able to make the distinctions among the various inhumanities that are necessary to keep the historical record straight.

A recognition of real danger comes with the understanding that such confusion of issues may have an explanation in terms of politics as well as in terms of normal human inexactitude. In the coming years there will be strong pressures on many, including revisionists, to be "for" the Arabs as distinct from fair to them. The pressure will arise partly from the fact that it will be precisely the Middle East developments that will create opportunities for the revisionists to be heard. Thus the revisionists will have to walk a tightrope, on the one hand resisting dangerous pressures, on the other hand exploiting such openings, as political developments may make, for the expression of legitimate historical observations. We should dearly love to consider the Hoax in an ivory tower, but it is not going to happen that way.

As history never repeats itself, the Donation-Holocaust analogy does not hold on all salient points. However there is another important point of similarity worth noting, namely, the excessive attention to detail in both Valla's treatise and in contemporary revisionist investigations: overkill in both cases. The people of the Renaissance would not observe that the alleged transfer of sovereignty did not take place, and let go at that, and we will not observe that the Jews were still there, and let it go at that. Apparently we must pursue the subject into areas of detail that may seem fantastic to posterity. For example we are not satisfied that the Zyklon, allegedly used in the "gassings," was an insecticide; we need to exhaustively analyze the technical aspects of the claim.

This preoccupation with detail is both desirable and necessary. That it is desirable has been suggested in the discussion of the Donation. A preoccupation with detail entails a great diversity and quantity of thought on the legend which, even if it might seem myopic to posterity will, indeed has, set tongues wagging in the practical and urgent present to the extent that those formally charged with such concerns will no longer be able to avoid them. Indeed that this point "has" been reached is essentially admitted by Raul Hilberg, author of *The Destruction of the European Jews*, in a recent interview in a French weekly:⁴

I will say that, in a certain manner, Faurisson and others, without having wished it, have done us a service. They have raised questions which have had as effect to engage the historians in new research. They have forced the gathering of more information, the re-examination of documents, and going further into the understanding of what happened.

That our preoccupation with detail is also necessary in the present circumstances follows from the propaganda strategy of the promoters and defenders of the established legend. One aspect of that strategy is to evade the real and simple question of whether or not the Jews of Europe were in fact physically exterminated by the Germans, and concentrate instead on the superficially similar and (provided enough confusion is generated) speciously equivalent question of whether or not "gas chambers" were operated by the Germans.

This is one basic trick of the hoaxers (there are others I shall mention) and too many of the revisionist camp or bent fall for it. To anticipate any misunderstanding on the point, let me give my assurance that I hold the answers to both questions to be "no"; there was no extermination program and there were no gas chambers. However the former is the real bone of contention and the latter is of only subsidiary importance to the Holocaust revisionist school as I understand its implicit tenets. For example, if it turned out that, one day in 1942, ten adult male Jews were marched into Hitler's headquarters in East Prussia, placed in Hitler's shower (with suitable hasty mechanical modifications) and there gassed before the approving eyes of the Fuehrer, I would have many reasons, historical and technical, for being astonished, but I would not be forced to change or withdraw any major conclusion on the "Extermination" matter. The discovery would rock the revisionists for whom Hitler is of central interest, e.g. David Irving, but that is irrelevant.

By various tricks, e.g. focusing on certain types of testimonies or discussing "Zyklon" out of context, the defenders of the legend are often able to arrange the quiet substitution, in public controversy, of the "gas chamber" question for the "extermination" question, not because they confuse the two, but because by so doing they are able to take advantage of certain routine reservations that apply to nearly every historical subject.

For example until a short time ago, if I were asked if the Japanese had gassed prisoners during World War II, I would have answered that I was unaware of any such gassings. Now I have very recently read a credible report that they gassed 404 "human guinea pigs" in connection with "research on biological warfare."⁵ However I continue to be certain that the Japanese did not "exterminate" any populations.

As another example, I am certain that during World War II the Allied powers did not exterminate any significant portion of the Eskimo population, and I am also confident that no individual communities of Eskimos were gassed by them, but note that I am "certain" in the former case and only "confident" in the latter. The difference arises from the fact that, while one can show that there was no extermination program for Eskimos (e.g. no significant absences were noted after the war), one cannot show that no Eskimos were gassed. Of course, one can cite the lack of an evident motivation for gassing Eskimos, the lack of subsequent charges of Eskimo gassings, etc., and one can be "confident" no communities of Eskimos were gassed (of course individual Eskimos might have been gassed for specific offenses in California). However one must e.g. allow the possibility that some isolated Eskimo community, perhaps posing a security menace to some highly secret Allied military operation, was gassed in great secrecy. This is just routine historical reserve, applying to all phases of history, whose potential relevance to every historical subject is so taken for granted that it is rarely mentioned.

We can prove that the Eskimos were not exterminated, but we cannot prove that no communities of Eskimos were gassed. Likewise, and at the risk of giving the opposition words which can be lifted out of context and used dishonestly, I can prove that there was no German program of physical extermination of the Jews, but I cannot prove that no Jews were gassed, although after living long with the evidence I am confident that no Jews were gassed.

If one examines closely the arguments that are offered when the tact is to argue that Jews were gassed, it is clear that the allegation is of the "isolated Eskimo community" sort. In place of geographical isolation, there is substituted the claim of administrative isolation, i.e. that no written records were kept of the design of the gas chambers or of their construction, or of the gassings themselves, that in order to conceal the deeds the bodies were burned and not a trace was left, and that in order to keep the number of witnesses to a minimum Jewish work parties were used in the operations, these Jews later being killed also. Why such secrecy should have been considered necessary or relevant, given rallies in Madison Square Garden against the alleged slaughter, official Allied and Presidential declarations in condemnation, etc.,⁶ is never explained, as few will ask such questions. The important thing is that the whole thing can then be "proved" via declarations of a few "witnesses," upheld in court, and then used to support a preposterous allegation of a very different and even incommensurate sort, namely, the physical extermination of the Jews of Europe.

It is a cheap trick. It relies on a massive dropping of context and shift of perspective, wherein the rubes are not expected to follow the simple shell game. Unfortunately it has been successful, and this is why a preoccupation with detail, on the part of revisionists, is necessary as well as desirable. The bearers of the legend do not want to confront the "extermination" allegation directly, as easily available information makes it clear the Jews were not exterminated. However, no easily available information makes clear what happened at every location in eastern Europe during the war, especially in view of the political character of the postwar exploitation of documents, and this is where the hoaxers go to work. They offer to fill in such gaps, usually not via written records, but via alleged reconstruction on the basis of their "trials." As they represent the entrenched position, they effectively call the tune on what is to be debated, and that is why the revisionists, in the minority of instances in which their opponents engage them in superficially scholarly debate, will find themselves confronted with details assembled for mendacious ends. The hoaxers dare not focus on the real question, as it is too simple.

Context And Perspective

While the present interest in detail is desirable from the revisionist point of view, it is also necessary because the defenders of the legend have decided that, for the sake of their contrary purposes, a focus on detail can also be desirable, when there is to be anything like a debate. This odd harmony of the two camps is of course superficial.

That the focus on detail contains dangers for the revisionists is seen by noting that the defenders of the legend take this tact because they have thereby substituted more malleable questions for the real one. Specifically, they trick their audiences into losing context and perspective. What Stangl said to Sereny in jail cannot be understood without the perspective gained by noting Stangl's hapless position in the postwar world, particularly in postwar Germany, which has a political system imposed by the foreign conquerors who made possible the establishment of the legend in the first place. The claim, that the lack of ordinary historical evidence for "exterminations" is explained by a German policy of utmost secrecy, cannot be easily demolished except via some observation on the historical context of the alleged episode, such as made above. Therefore while it is fine to focus on detail in these times, we risk losing battles, if not the war, if we forget the historical context and lose perspective.

Context and perspective constitute the theme of this paper, but it was necessary to discuss at length the nature of the need.

Posterity will see this "Holocaust," this curious imposture that enthralled us for two or three decades, as a transient phenomenon involving what will appear to be utterly audacious distortions of the historical record, which we should have seen more easily than we did, as the relevant episodes will seem to have simpler interpretations than we see or at any rate emphasize. While of course we cannot see things as posterity will, we can at least attempt to see the subject from a higher perspective. This will not only help our future reputation, but will also help us avoid getting tripped up on details in current controversy.

We can start by asking just what will draw posterity's attention as extraordinary. It will not be "exterminations" of Jews, as there were none. It will also not be the German program of expulsion of the Jews. There will of course be some interest in that program, just as today there is interest on the part of the historians in all sorts of past episodes. However that German program was in its essentials far from unique, the Jews having been expelled from the Jerusalem area in the second century and from Spain in the fifteenth, to mention only the most famous two of many expulsions. The German program may seem deplorable, but it will not seem extraordinary.

What will seem unique is the establishment in Western society of the "Holocaust" legend, its exploitation past the point of sanctity, its challenge from unconventional quarters a few decades later, and its subsequent overthrow. One implication of this, perhaps for the revisionists at once instructive and deflating, is that the revisionists will themselves be objects of historical scrutiny, i.e. we are part of the historical process that posterity will see, not merely its pioneering investigators.

I believe they will see us that way mainly because of our tendency, explanations for which have already been given, of getting entangled in details while bypassing or downplaying the observations that, it will seem, should have been both obvious and conclusive.

A specific illustration. In order for something to be "obvious" it ought to be figuratively before our very noses. Let us look at two of the recently published and widely discussed books in support of the extermination legend, namely *Auschwitz and the Allies* by Martin Gilbert (biographer of Winston Churchill) and *The Terrible Secret* by Walter Laqueur (Director of the Institute of Contemporary History, London, and editor of the *Journal of Contemporary History*). The two books look at the subject from similar perspectives and cover much of the same ground.

At the end of his long and copiously annotated study, Gilbert writes:⁷

Between May 1942 and June 1944, almost none of the messages reaching the west had referred to Auschwitz as the destination of Jewish deportees, or as a killing centre. Nor had the name of Auschwitz made any impression on those who were building up what they believed to be an increasingly comprehensive picture of the fate of the Jews.

On the other hand early in his shorter but also copiously annotated study Laqueur explains that mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been concealed, noting that Auschwitz was "a veritable archipelago," that "Auschwitz inmates . . . were, in fact, dispersed all over Silesia, and . . . met with thousands of people," that "hundreds of civilian employees . . . worked at Auschwitz," and that "journalists travelled in the General Government and were bound to hear," etc.⁸

I have no quarrel with such observations, as I made them myself, on the basis of essentially the same considerations.⁹ Now the reader of Gilbert, Laqueur, and Butz can make a very simple determination. He is being told that (a) in the period May 1942 to June 1944, those interested in such matters had no information of mass exterminations at Auschwitz and (b) mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been concealed from the world for any significant length of time. Since he is hearing the same story from both sides then, by a process of inference necessary to those who want to form an opinion but do not have the time or means to become historians, he should assume both claims true. There was no information of mass exterminations at Auschwitz during the relevant period, and mass exterminations at Auschwitz would not have been kept secret. Therefore, there were no mass exterminations at Auschwitz.

The conclusion is inescapable and requires only elementary logic. It is comparable to the syllogism: "I see no elephant in my basement; an elephant could not be concealed from sight in my basement; therefore, there is no elephant in my basement."

Logic tells us that this observation should be conclusive, and yet I know that in controversies to come it will often be lost sight of. It is a good example of a point on which we shall puzzle posterity for our myopia, since it will wonder why it was so seldom raised in a heated controversy. It is not the sole example of its type. The literature of the defenders of the legend is overflowing with concessions that will make posterity wonder how the legend ever could have been believed in the first place, and why a revisionist literature was necessary at all. Let us be specific.

The principal actors in the historical episode are the governments of the various powers at war, Jewish organizations operating in Allied and neutral countries, Jewish organizations operating openly under the German occupation, clandestine resistance

organizations in German-occupied Europe, Jewish or otherwise, the Catholic Church (on account of its twin attributes of ubiquity and centralization), and the International Red Cross.

Prominent among the Jewish organizations were the JDC (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee), closely associated with the American Jewish Committee, the "political organization of the non-Zionist elite of American Jewry."¹⁰ The JDC was primary in extending material assistance to Jews. In Europe an important representative was Joseph J. Schwartz in Lisbon.¹¹ More important from our point of view was Saly Mayer, the sometimes unofficial but always principal representative of the JDC in Switzerland. Mayer was in constant contact with the JDC in Lisbon and New York, and also with Jews in occupied Europe, eastern and western.¹²

Also prominent among the Jewish organizations were the JA (Jewish Agency), the unofficial Israeli government of the time, whose guiding light was Chaim Weizmann, and which was represented in Geneva by Richard Lichtheim and Abraham Silberschein. Zionism was also represented by the WJC (World Jewish Congress), whose guiding lights were Nahum Goldman and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and whose principal representative in Switzerland was Gerhart Riegner. The Swiss representatives of these and other Jewish organizations were in constant contact with both Jews of occupied Europe and with Jewish and other representatives in the Allied countries. For example, postal and telephone communications between Jews in occupied countries and those in neutral countries such as Switzerland and Turkey were easily established.¹³

As made abundantly clear by many books in addition to my own (e.g. Gilbert's book), it is from the WJC, supplemented by the JA, the Polish exile government in London, and occasionally more obscure groups, that the early extermination propaganda emanated.

Here are eight simple observations, all drawn from the literature of the defenders of the legend (sometimes via the intermediary of my book), which establish the non-historicity of the "Holocaust" or, more precisely, a program of mass physical extermination of Europe's Jews.

The postwar claims had their origin in the wartime extermination claims. However the differences between the two are such that it is implied that the wartime claims were not based on fact.

There are two principal sorts of differences between the wartime and postwar claims. First, much of what was claimed during the war was dropped afterwards, only a fraction being retained. Second, the centerpiece of the postwar claims, Auschwitz, was not claimed at all until the very end of the relevant period.

Both observations were made in Chapter 3 of my book, and the second was made above, and both are confirmed by more recent publications. The first is shown by listing specific examples, and those given in *Hoax* can be supplemented with some taken from the recent literature, particularly the Gilbert book, which gives numerous such examples.¹⁴

To discuss a specific example, it is well to focus on one Jan Karski, a non-Jewish member of the Polish resistance, who is said to have been sent from Poland by the underground, in November 1942, to report to the Polish exile government in London. His report described Polish Jews being sent to Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor in railway cars packed with "lime and chlorine sprinkled with water." On the trip half die from suffocation, poisonous fumes, and lack of food and water. These are burned. The remainder are put to death by firing squads, in "lethal gas chambers" and, at Belzec, in an "electrocuting station"; this remainder was buried. This report was widely publicized and circulated.¹⁵

Of course the present story is that almost all the Jews were killed in gas chambers, their bodies later being burned. Also there is nothing about Auschwitz as an extermination camp in this report of the Polish underground which, in this instance, cannot be accused of ignoring the plight of the Jews.

Karski published his story in 1944 as a silly book, *Story of a Secret State*, which sold well. At present he is a Professor of Government at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. Although the wild disagreement between his wartime tall tales and the postwar tall tales is not novel to a student of this subject, I thought it useful to select Karski for mention because in recent years, in the deluge of "Holocaust" propaganda, he has been rediscovered and feted as something of a hero. He wrote a new and sanitized version of his story in 1979, no doubt for the benefit of those of his friends embarrassed by his book.¹⁶ Then in 1981 he was a participant in a conference held at the State Department and sponsored by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council whose chairman, author Elie Wiesel, "organized the event in part to build a bulwark against a rising tide of revisionist history." I have no evidence that anybody at the conference sought to get Karski to explain the discrepancies between his and today's received accounts of "exterminations."¹⁷

I am sometimes asked why I ignore Elie Wiesel, so here I shall give him one paragraph. I ignore him because, unlike authors I usually discuss, he is frankly a novelist and there is next to nothing in his declarations that could be considered historical argument. Even his allegedly autobiographical *Night* is too histrionic to be entertained as a purported primary source. This does not mean that there is absolutely nothing to be gained from

noticing him. That a novelist was chosen to be Director of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, a plum for which there must have been a lot of behind the scenes jostling, is tremendously revealing of the forces at work today. As for a short judgement of Wiesel's various writings on the "Holocaust," I think it is fair to characterize them as reaching the heights that most of us can reach only with the help of the sorts of magic potions that are made out of gin and vermouth and comparable ingredients; Wiesel does not need such help.¹⁸

To return to the point, namely, "that the wartime claims were not based on fact," the logic goes as follows. The defenders of the legend could explain the retention of only a fraction of the wartime reports only by claiming that wartime exigencies made corroboration of information impracticable and that as a consequence many inaccurate stories were passed along for public consumption. The result was a set of reports which, although originally inspired by fact, exaggerated the real situation. However such an explanation cannot be reconciled with the fact of the absence of Auschwitz from the extermination claims. The Auschwitz aspect would be consistent with the proffered explanation only if some story exaggerated in relation to the postwar claims had been presented during the war, e.g. exterminations of Jews by means in addition to gas chambers. The logic thus leads to the conclusion that the wartime claims were not inspired by fact.

Both the wartime records and behavior of the Jews in occupied Europe show that they had no information of an extermination program.

That resistance to deportation was rare, and that Jews went to the various camps with no suspicion that they were to be killed, has been well known for many years and recently published material has only reinforced this observation. However its implications are usually not appreciated. Note that the observation holds for the Jewish leadership in the various occupied countries as well as for the general Jewish population.

To give some examples, late in 1942 Slovakian Jewish leaders, negotiating with the Germans, took seriously the Germans' offers to cease deportations of Slovakian Jews from Auschwitz. In the French Jewish records "we find a wealth of documentation that tends to deny" exterminations. French Jewish leaders saw "Auschwitz as a place of work" and in November 1944 (after the Germans had been driven out of France) were thinking, in regard to the deportees, mainly of reuniting families. We are told that "Jews in Holland never really knew what was going on in Poland" and that the records of the Amsterdam Jewish Council of 22 January 1943 show that the possibility of "extermination" was

not even being entertained as an explanation for the breaking up of families. Jewish leaders in Rome were unaware of any extermination program and feared deportations only in connection with such things as "the rigors of winter and the fragile health of many deportees." Under such conditions it is not at all surprising that there was only one derailment of an Auschwitz deportation train engineered by Jewish/resistance activities (in Belgium).¹⁹

To focus on a man who should certainly have been well informed, Rabbi Leo Baeck, "venerated head of German Jewry," showed via a letter he wrote in November 1942 that he had no suspicion that Jewish deportees were being killed, and by his own postwar admission told no other Jews of "exterminations" during during his stay at Theresienstadt, from which there were many deportations.²⁰

By the spring of 1944, right after the German occupation of Hungary, the Hungarian Jewish leaders had heard the extermination claims, including (finally) the Auschwitz claims. However they "gave no publicity whatsoever to" such claims. "Not urgent warnings to their fellow Jews to resist deportation, but secret negotiations with the SS aimed at averting deportation altogether, had become the avenue of hope chosen by the Hungarian Zionist leaders."²¹

As for Poland, there was a famous rebellion of the Warsaw ghetto in April 1943. However this came only after almost all the Jews of Warsaw had been deported east. The claim is that "by March 1943 the destruction of Polish Jewry was almost complete." During the period that they were supposedly being destroyed there was no significant resistance to deportations.²² Moreover Jewish record keeping in Poland was diligent and extensive, so that "many posthumous records have come down to us." Yet there is an "absence of vital subjects from the records."²³

Thus the Jews were not cognizant of an extermination program in the only senses that would be convincing, in the senses of resisting deportations or at least recording the "Holocaust" in their confidential records.

Jewish bodies outside occupied Europe, such as the JDC, the WJC, the JA and others did not act as though they believed their own claims of "extermination."

There are quite a few senses in which this is the case but the most important relates directly to the point discussed above. The Jews who, we are told, boarded deportation trains with no inkling that they were to be killed, were as was noted above in close contact with Jewish bodies outside occupied Europe. Indeed many of the records that show their ignorance of an extermination program are among their communications with these Jews

outside Europe. Yet the Jews outside Europe did not undertake to impress on those inside what the deportations were allegedly all about, if one were to believe the remarks they were making for the consumption of others. Otherwise the alleged ignorance would not have existed.

This is enough to prove the point but it is useful to give some good examples of the real behavior of the Jewish bodies outside Europe during their supposed "Holocaust."

Chaim Weizmann used the extermination claims when he thought them useful. However in May 1943 Weizmann complained to Churchill's secretariat that if "an Allied press release reporting the fact that Jewish scientists were among those involved in the Allied scientific war effort . . . were repeated, the Germans would carry out further anti-Jewish reprisals."²⁴ Just what reprisals could be graver than physical extermination of all is not apparent.

It was noted above that the legend claims that by March 1943 almost all Polish Jews had been killed. However throughout the alleged period of killing, and even into 1944, Jewish relief organizations in the west sent food parcels to Jews in Poland, particularly through the JUS (*Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle* or Jewish Aid Office), with the permission and cooperation of the German authorities. Money was also sent to Jewish organizations in Poland through the London Polish exile government, again with the permission of the German authorities.²⁵

By 1944 Poland had become a battlefield. Accordingly on 14 March 1944 the WJC reminded the British, as Soviet forces were approaching Lvov, that there were "still a considerable number of Jews" in the Lvov area, and we should issue "a fresh and emphatic warning to the Germans" and also speed up the work of rescuing Jews from Nazi occupied territory (obviously to proceed to Palestine, as the WJC made clear by its wartime statements).²⁶ In the opinion of the WJC, the murdered Jews were still there.

Jewish newspapers in the west, while occasionally publishing massacre claims, clearly thought the claims exaggerated greatly and tended to contradict themselves in their statements. For example the allegedly well informed leftist Jewish "Bund," in its publication *The Ghetto Speaks* for October 1943, spoke of the "struggle linking the Polish and Jewish masses." In their opinion, too, the murdered Jews were still there. However even apart from such specific incidents, it is admitted that even after the Allied declaration of 17 December 1942, the first official claim of "extermination," "there was no forceful, unequivocal response by American Jewry, including the JDC." As a rule, "the Jews themselves did not really press very hard for rescue, and their propa-

ganda for Palestine often seemed stronger than their concern for immediate steps to save their brethren."²⁷

The historical record thus shows that, apart from their occasional public claims of "extermination," the Jewish bodies outside occupied Europe conducted themselves as if there were no exterminations, as is most clearly shown by their failure to undertake to warn the European Jews, and by the nature of their real efforts (e.g. in connection with Palestine).

Allied governments and their officials did not act as though they believed the extermination claims, and their intelligence services never produced any information corroborative of the claims.

In connection with the actions of Allied governments and their officials we can say that (a) the declarations of the governments, in relation to "extermination," were inconsistent, equivocal, and unconvincingly timed, (b) no concrete measures were taken to interfere with deportations of Jews or with whatever was happening in the camps and (c) incidents involving leading officials show that they did not believe the claims.

Among relevant declarations of governments, perhaps the best known is the Allied declaration of 17 December 1942; this was unequivocally worded although very much lacking in specific details. However it seems unconvincingly timed. According to the legend exterminations outside Russia are supposed to have been in progress for almost a year. Moreover this date also marked the first unequivocal Soviet charge of "extermination," although such a program was allegedly in operation there since June 1941. This makes the belated Soviet statement particularly incredible, as "there is every reason to assume that the Soviet authorities were from the beginning well informed about all important events in the occupied (Soviet) territories."²⁸

On the other hand the Allied "War Crimes Declaration" of 1 November 1943, condemning German atrocities, failed to mention Jews. During the drafting of the declaration, the British Foreign Office had deleted references to "gas chambers because the evidence was untrustworthy."²⁹

In connection with Auschwitz, there was on 10 October 1944 a broadcast from London and Washington charging the Germans with "plans (for the) mass execution of the people in the concentration camps" Auschwitz and Birkenau (my emphasis). The German Telegraph Service replied immediately that "these reports are false from beginning to end."³⁰ The first high level Auschwitz claim by the Allies that resembled the legend of today came in late November 1944, after the claimed termination of the "exterminations," in the form of the publication of the document I have called the "WRB Report" (as it was published by the War

Thus the Allies also did not take the extermination claims seriously enough to give them more than occasional lip service.

The Vatican did not believe the extermination claims.

It is agreed that the far-flung nature of the operations of the Catholic Church guaranteed that the Vatican would have known what was happening to the Jews.⁴⁴ Nevertheless no unequivocal condemnation of exterminations of Jews ever came from the Vatican even after the Germans had been driven out of Rome or even after Germany's defeat. This is despite strong pressures put on the Vatican, by the Allies, to issue such a declaration.

There was an equivocal statement in the Pope's Christmas message of 1942, but it was issued only after the British had strongly suggested that the issuance of such a statement might help to dissuade the Allies from bombing Rome. However the Pope made it clear to the Allies, even as his declaration was issued, that he did not believe the stories: "he felt that there had been some exaggeration for the purposes of propaganda."⁴⁵ That Vatican spokesmen of today support the legend in their public statements is irrelevant to the historical point.

The actions and reports of the International Red Cross [IRC] do not harmonize with the extermination claims.

As with the Vatican, the statements of IRC spokesmen of today do support the legend, but that is irrelevant to the historical point. Also, general editorial remarks in books of documents published by the IRC right after the war do harmonize with the legend. However, all the historian should be interested in are the actual content of the reports and activities of the IRC during the war.

That the actions and reports of the IRC do not harmonize with the legend was discussed at length in my book and it seems pointless to repeat the material here.⁴⁶ A couple more points I noticed recently are worth mentioning.

On 14 April 1943, the IRC made it clear that it considered Auschwitz a labor camp for deportees, to whom parcels could be sent.⁴⁷

There were two highly publicized visits of the IRC to Theresienstadt, the Jewish settlement in Czechoslovakia. The IRC reports were relatively favorable in both cases. What is seldom noted is that the IRC delegate in the second visit in the spring of 1945 was George Dunant, who described Theresienstadt "as an experiment by certain leaders of the Reich, who were apparently less hostile to the Jews than those responsible for the racial policy of the German Government." Since Dunant was guided around Theresienstadt by Adolf Eichmann, he must have known that Theresienstadt was an operation of Himmler's SS. Dunant, moreover, was evidently in close contact with Jewish representatives. For exam-

ple early in 1945 he went to Bratislava, partly at the urging of Saly Mayer, in order to supply hiding Jews with funds.⁴⁸

The German documents speak not of extermination, but basically of a program of expulsion and resettlement in the east. There is nothing about "gas chambers" in the concentration camp or other German records.

That the German documents do not speak of extermination is well known. For example, there exists no written order of Hitler to kill the Jews.⁴⁹ The documents speak of the "Final Solution" as the ultimate expulsion of all Jews from Europe and of a wartime process of resettling Jews in the occupied east.⁵⁰

The defenders of the legend of course claim that the Germans merely exercised commonplace circumspection and evasion regarding what they committed to writing. This excuse fails on the grounds that such attempts at concealment would make sense only in regard to something it was possible to conceal. It would have been obvious that the physical extermination of Europe's Jews, whatever the outcome of the war, would not have remained secret. Indeed for reasons discussed above it would have become widely known while it was happening. Even if we hypothesize incredible stupidity of the Germans on this point, we surely must grant that they were aware of the atrocity claims being made in the Allied countries and would have seen that documentary masquerade was of no avail.

There is also nothing about "gas chambers," in the sense of the legend, in the German documents. What the legend does at this point is produce the insecticide Zyklon B or other fumigation means, show us pictures of quite ordinary looking showers (alleging extraordinary concealed features), make references to the use of exhausts of diesel engines (apparently unconscious that the exhaust of a diesel is mainly carbon dioxide, not carbon monoxide), or play games with the concept of a "gas oven" (crematoria ovens, like most kitchen ovens, are "gas ovens" and the crematoria in the German camps were no exception).

All of this is so idiotic as to be torturing to discuss further. There is also no record of the design and construction of gas chambers. On the basis of my engineering experiences, it seems quite out of the question to suppress all normal historical records of engineering projects of the scope that could have produced the great "gas chambers." Documents must not only be produced, but also distributed to the great number of individuals charged with specific details; there is no other way to achieve coordination. Even if major documents are closely controlled (as is supposed to happen with "classified" material in the USA) the various individuals would later be able, one way or another, to supply details that, taken together, would cohere credibly. We do not

have such coherence with the "Holocaust." Indeed we have incoherence at not one but two levels. On one level we have the mutual incoherence, in relation to "gas chambers," of the authentic records dealing with crematoria and disinfection measures. On another level this attempt on the part of the hoaxers to supply specific technical details does not cohere with the feature of the legend according to which the "gas chambers" were improvised in a slapdash fashion by local non-technical German personnel.⁵¹

It is of interest that two of Heinrich Himmler's closest aides, SS Generals Gottlob Berger and Karl Wolff, both testified that they had known nothing of an extermination program during the war. It is of greater interest that toward the end of the war Himmler told a representative of the WJC that⁵²

In order to put a stop to the epidemics, we were forced to burn the bodies of incalculable numbers of people who had been destroyed by disease. We were therefore forced to build crematoria, and on this account they are knotting a noose for us.

Are we to believe that the essential agreement between this attempt at self exculpation on the part of Himmler, on the one hand, and on the other hand the picture formed by the documents that Himmler's enemies assembled in the three year period after his death, was either accidental or arranged by Himmler through superhuman diligence and prescience? Are we to believe likewise of the essential agreement between the German documents on Jewish policy, and the real wartime behavior of Germany's enemies?

The German resistance to Hitler, including the substantial part that was lodged in German military intelligence, was not cognizant in any way of a program of exterminating Jews.

Part of the German resistance was of course opposed to the Hitler regime for reasons related to its anti-Jewish stance. Moreover the Abwehr, German military intelligence, was headed until 1944 by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, a conscious traitor. Next in command in the Abwehr was Hans Oster, who handled financial and administrative matters and kept the central list of agents. Both Oster and one of his subordinates, Hans von Dohnanyi, an "Aryanized" part Jew, made it their "business to deal with all kinds of operations unconnected with their immediate tasks." Among these operations were involvement in the anti-Hitler opposition and illegal assistance to various Jews. Both were executed for participation in the abortive coup of 20 July 1944.⁵³

In the various accounts of the activities of the anti-Hitler resistance in Germany, for example *The German Opposition to Hitler* by Hans Rothfels, there is no evidence that this opposition was in

any way cognizant of a program of exterminating the Jews or passed any such information on to the Allies. If there had been knowledge of such a program, it is a certainty that the information would have been passed on since the anti-Hitler opposition was in contact with the Allies and attempted, without success, to get promises of some sort of Allied support in the event they succeeded in removing Hitler.⁵⁴

Even if we grant the possibility that some Germans involved in the anti-Hitler opposition could have been ignorant of a program of physical extermination of the Jews, even if one had existed, are we to believe this possible of high officials of the Abwehr?

This concludes the discussion of the "eight simple observations . . . which establish the non-historicity of . . . a program of mass physical extermination of Europe's Jews." The allegation fails every relevant historical test, and entails a level of audacity or "chutzpah" that would have staggered the imagination before the war. It is demanded that we believe that these "events continental in geographical scope, of three years in temporal scope, and of several million in scope of victims," all transpired without one relevant party being cognizant of them. It is like telling me that, while I saw no elephant when I looked in my basement, he was there anyway. Also while I was sitting in my living room I did not notice that the elephant managed to come upstairs and romp about a while, relevant stairways, door openings, and floors having suddenly miraculously become compatible with such activities. Then the elephant dashed outside into a busy mid-day shopping district, and then walked several miles back to the zoo, but nobody noticed.

Rassinier said somewhere, in connection with the extermination claim, "this is not serious." I am not in accord with that evaluation. This is mad. However that is not the point of this discussion. The point is that these observations can be considered to lie "figuratively before our very noses" because most have been made in books published recently, not by revisionists, but by the defenders of the legend, and the minority that were not made can be readily inferred from those books anyway. On account of the "Holocaustomania" of the past several years, their existence and general contents have been widely publicized. Perhaps these books have not served up the observations as succinctly and forthrightly as I have, but they have served them up. It would therefore be a case of myopia, of a sort posterity will find it hard to understand if, while pursuing "Holocaust" controversy, we allow ourselves to get so wrapped up with the little details that the defenders of the legend will raise that we allow ourselves to be diverted from taking into account the extraordinarily simple historical observations which really

settle beyond doubt any question of the existence of a program of physical extermination of the Jews of Europe.

Concluding Remarks

In controversies to come the partisans of the received legend will try mightily to confuse and complicate the subject with all the tricks that we can anticipate and perhaps then some. We have the precedent of the Donation controversy showing that simple observations that establish the wildly ahistorical nature of a reigning legend can get smothered. Thus my most important advice to those who enter the controversy is that they not lose sight of the fact that the real bone of contention, the extermination allegation, has been laid to rest beyond peradventure by ordinary historical analysis.

It follows that the basic tactic of the defenders of the legend, in controversies to come, will be to attempt to make claims that cannot be tested by the normal method of placing them as hypotheses in appropriate historical context and seeing if they cohere. That this process is under way can be seen from the remarkable *New Statesman* article of Gitta Sereny that is discussed above. She makes it clear that she would rather discuss places like Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka rather than Auschwitz.

There are good reasons for this. Sereny puts it this way: "Auschwitz . . . combined enormous labour installations and nearby facilities for extermination. Auschwitz, because so many people survived it, has added most to our knowledge, but also most of our confusion as between the two types of camps."

There is a valid distinction here. Auschwitz was a huge, multi-faceted operation, while the other alleged extermination camps were obscure facilities that functioned only for short times for the virtually exclusive purpose of serving as transit camps for Jews. Thus we have a great deal of information about Auschwitz but much less about the others. For example there probably do not exist relevant aerial reconnaissance photographs of the others, nor were there any western prisoners of war at the others, nor were hundreds of ordinary civilians employed at the others, nor did inmates at the others come into contact with diverse people over a large territory, nor was there apparently any IRC cognizance of the others, nor were there nearly as many transports of west European Jews to the others (there were transports of Dutch Jews to Sobibor).

The consequence is that it is much easier to disprove the legend as it applies to Auschwitz than as it applies to the others, when we for the sake of discussion forego the general historical arguments against "extermination." That is really why the defenders of the legend would rather discuss Belzec, Sobibor and

Treblinka. There is much less directly contradicting their supposed "evidence," which consists mainly of postwar testimony. That postwar testimony was mostly given before German courts and under the present legal and political conditions in Germany, revisionists cannot examine it anyway.⁵⁵ That is neat.

However the defenders of the legend are in an impossible position here. They cannot concede Auschwitz without conceding the whole issue, for the reason that there is no sort of evidence they offer for the others that is not also offered for Auschwitz. If the "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss is fanciful,⁵⁶ then who will believe the "confession" of Treblinka commandant Franz Stangl? If the Auschwitz accounts of Rudolf Vrba and Miklos Nyiszli are not credible, and their books sick jokes, then who will believe the equally sick Treblinka accounts of Jankiel Wiernik and other obscure people?⁵⁷ If the Nuremberg and postwar German trials have not established the truth about Auschwitz, then who will believe that they have established the truth about Treblinka? If the large numbers of Jews admittedly sent to Auschwitz were not killed there, then who will believe that the large numbers of Jews sent to Treblinka were killed at that camp? My advice, then, to those who would engage in controversy is to not permit the defenders of the legend to get away with ignoring Auschwitz. The fact is that it is very easy to bring down the legend as it applies to Auschwitz and Auschwitz in turn, on account of the nature of the evidence involved, brings down the rest of the legend with it.

There is another type of argument resorted to by the defenders of the legend. It was very recently offered by Hilberg in the remarkable interview referred to above, which I recommend to those who want to get a good idea of the contemporary line:⁴

... the critics (i.e. the revisionists) do not account for a quite simple fact: what then became of the people who were deported? The deportation was not a secret event. It was announced. Several million people were displaced to definite places. Where are those people? They are not hidden in China!

It may seem incredible, at a time when scarcely a day goes by that the press does not discover some hitherto obscure Jew who was deported from his home but survived, at a time when events in the Middle East cannot fail to remind people of the great Jewish exodus from Europe after the war (and even during it), and at a time when the revisionist literature is recalling the various ways Jews were moved around during and after the war,⁵⁸ that Hilberg would say such a thing. There seems to be no difficulty in accounting for the Jews. A reader's first impulse might be to assume that Hilberg has been misquoted.

However while he does not elaborate on the point, I can think of two interpretations of Hilberg's remarks. He has an argument

here, but as usual its plausibility is only illusory and depends on myopia and a loss of context and perspective.

What Hilberg probably has in mind is the fact that, while there is available a great deal of documentation that proves that Jews were deported to the camps in Poland, such as Auschwitz, Treblinka, etc., there is not available comparable documentation that proves that they proceeded on through those camps to points further east. At least, I have not seen such German records. I would be astonished to see them today. Admitted that the legend was thrown together in a sloppy fashion, mainly because some continuity with wartime propaganda was desired, it is nevertheless the case that the people who came into control of the German documents after the war, and who put selections of them into evidence at the Nuremberg trials, were not operating under such handicaps. They could suppress very effectively.

One must certainly note who "the people who came into control of the German documents" were. There are many ways to make it clear by historical-political argument or by specific example. My favorite among the latter is that the David Marcus who was prominent in making the U.S. occupation policy in Germany during and immediately after the war, and who headed the War Crimes Branch in Washington in 1946-1947, was the same David Marcus who commanded the Jewish forces in Palestine in the first (1948) war with the Arabs. One could go on.⁵⁹

Hilberg's point would have some weight if we were talking about virgin historical records but, what he is in effect saying (if I interpret him correctly) is that we should trust the architects of the Nuremberg trials, which presupposes more than he is trying to prove (I presume he would want to argue only that these architects were right in this instance). The attempt to drop context at this point stands logic on its head. All that is being noted is that the hoaxers have not handed over the materials that directly expose their hoax.

Hilberg might argue that such wholesale suppression is not possible and that traces of deportation of Jews further east would be left. That is true; moreover, there are such traces and scraps. If this is indeed Hilberg's point, then he ought to answer the following question. Where are the German records that deal with the deportations to and administration of the settlement (not concentration camp) near Riga that is described in Jeanette Wolf's article in Boehm's book? I do not know. I am not saying that they will never turn up, but I know that they were not available to those who looked for such things at the Nuremberg trials.⁶⁰

There is a second possible interpretation of Hilberg's remark. While little weight can be given to postwar Jewish population figures claimed for eastern Europe, it must be conceded that the number of Jews in postwar Poland is only some fraction of the

very large number (perhaps 3 million) that lived in prewar Poland (not quite the same territory). This is not because we must believe population figures that are offered. It is because Poland, unlike the Soviet Union, is not a large country and such large communities of Jews would certainly have been noticed if they were still there.

Thus, if one drops all historical context the argument seems simple. They are not in this territory we today call Poland; therefore they were killed. To those familiar with fairly commonplace history the conclusion is as much a non sequitur as would be the observation that since there were many millions of Germans and ethnic Germans living east of the Oder-Neisse before the war, and today almost none, then they were all killed. In fact the period was one of massive population movements, and the Jews were no exception. The Soviets deported many into the interior of the Soviet Union and in the period after the war the Polish Jews pouring into west Germany to proceed on to the U.S.A., Palestine and other destinations became a widely publicized problem.⁶¹

I have little more advice at this time on prosecuting "Holocaust" controversy, and I cannot anticipate every trick. I cannot even promise that the Sereny and Hilberg expositions discussed here will be representative of what the reader might encounter as argument in support of the legend. Even today one runs into the argument that the American and British troops who captured Belsen, Buchenwald and Dachau "saw it with their own eyes." They saw dead bodies, and it has been relatively easily available knowledge since 1945 that the deaths were due to the privations entailed in Germany's collapse, but the reigning confusion is so great that we still hear the argument anyway. All I can add is that one should keep current with the revisionist literature and the more important pieces of literature in support of the legend and, in controversy, be mindful above all of preserving historical context and perspective and not getting trapped with myopic historical vision.

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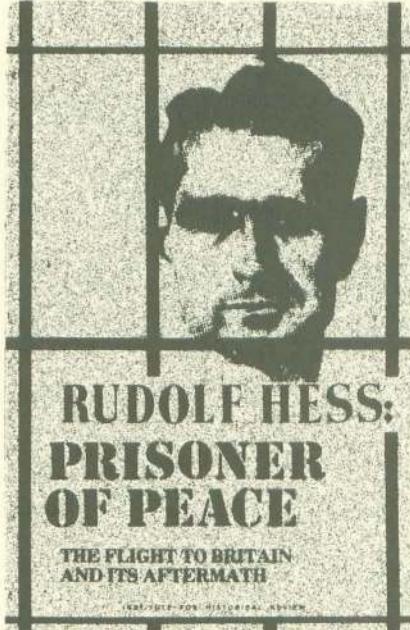
NOTES

1. *Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 2, no. 2, Summer 1980, 153ff. The "Dr." before my signature was added by the editor. I never sign that way.
2. *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (2 Sep 79), E2.
3. e.g. *The Spotlight* (26 Jul 82), 10f.
4. *Le Nouvel Observateur* (3-9 Jul 82), 70+.
5. *Chicago Tribune* (5 Aug 82), section 1, 5.
6. e.g. Butz, 75-86, 146f.
7. Gilbert, 340.
8. Laqueur, 22-25.
9. Butz, 87f, 92ff.
10. Bauer, 21f.
11. Bauer, Ch. 8.
12. Bauer, Ch. 9, 246, 264, 272, 274, 333, 366f, 371f.
13. Laqueur, 4, 170f, 188.
14. Gilbert, 31, 39f, 44, 170.
15. Gilbert, 93ff; Laqueur, 231.
16. Laqueur, Appendix 5.
17. *Washington Post* (28 Oct 81), A1; *Los Angeles Times* (29 Oct 81), pt. I, 20.
18. See e.g. his contribution to the booklet *Dimensions of the Holocaust*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1977. This is the published version of a lecture Wiesel gave at Northwestern in the spring of 1977. An alternative is his article in the *London Jewish Chronicle* (4 Nov 77).
19. Bauer, 264, 271, 274, 371; Gilbert, 121; Butz, 290.
20. Bauer, 56, 58; Butz, 109.
21. Gilbert, 204f.
22. Bauer, 325fff; Gilbert, 121.
23. Dawidowicz (1975), xvii; (1981), 125.
24. Gilbert, 143.

25. Bauer, 329-334.
26. Gilbert, 181.
27. Laqueur, 183-186; Bauer, 188-193, 403.
28. Butz, 77, 202; Laqueur, 68-72.
29. Laqueur, 121.
30. Gilbert, 325.
31. Butz, 89.
32. Gilbert, 337f.
33. Gilbert, 267-273, 290, 299-311, 341.
34. Feingold, 9, 170; Laqueur, 94.
35. Laqueur, 3.
36. DuBois, 184, 188; Butz, 67.
37. Gilbert, 68, 95f, 99.
38. Laqueur, 162ff.
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40. Laqueur, 83, 86; Gilbert, 150.
41. Iron Curtain Over America, available from IHR.
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43. Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier, "The Holocaust Revisited: a Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex," presumably still available from the Public Affairs Office; Central Intelligence Agency; Washington, DC 20505.
44. Laqueur, 55-58.
45. Butz, Appendix E; Gilbert, 104f.
46. Butz, 76, 133-145.
47. Gilbert, 129.
48. Bauer, 430f.
49. Laqueur, 152.
50. e.g. Butz, 205-212.
51. Butz, 101-108, 116, 120ff.
52. Butz, 194, 240; Laqueur, 18.
53. Laqueur, Appendix 1. The cases of the politician-journalist Lemmer and the economist Sommer, who are said to have passed information about exterminations to Swiss contacts, are of dubious import. Lemmer was not associated with the Abwehr and, as Laqueur notes, there is nothing in his autobiography about passing on information about extermination. Sommer was an army liaison officer between the General Staff and the Abwehr and also travelled to Switzerland in connection with trade relations. One can infer from Gilbert, pp. 56ff, that Sommer's association with a summer 1942 report that "camps are being prepared where all the Jews of Europe and a great part of the Russian prisoners-of-war will be exterminated by gas" has been claimed not by Sommer, who died in 1965, but by two Jewish intermediaries. It is also worth noting that neither Lemmer nor Sommer appear to have been seriously involved with the anti-Hitler opposition; both survived the war.
54. Rothfels, 125-151.
55. Under German law the records of a trial are not open to the public. Exceptions are granted to those who are somehow involved personally in the case or to those considered to have a scholarly interest in aspects of the trial. Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, retired German judge

and author of *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, was denied permission to consult trials testimonies. See his pp. 371fff. Dr. Robert Faurisson interprets remarks, made in a letter by Justice Ministry official Dr. Hans de With to *Die Realschule* (Oct 81), as suggesting that if Faurisson sets foot in West Germany he will be arrested and sent back to France.

56. Butz, Ch. 4. For the final solution of the Höss confession question, see Faurisson's discussions in *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer 1980), 103+; vol. 2, no. 4 (Winter 1981), 311+, 319+.
57. Donat.
58. Butz, Ch. 7.
59. Butz, 20-30.
60. Butz, 219f.
61. Butz, 14-17, 217-239.



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RANJAN BORRA

India's Army of Liberation in the West

The arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose in Germany in 1941 (during the turbulent period of World War II) and his anti-British activities in that country in co-operation with the German government, culminated in the formation of an Indian legion. This marks perhaps the most significant event in the annals of India's fight for independence. This event not only can be regarded as a historical link-up with what Bose himself chose to describe as "The Great Revolution of 1857," and which (in his words) "has been incorrectly called by English historians 'the Sepoy Mutiny,' but which is regarded by the Indian people as the First War of Independence."¹ It also represents the historical fact that, by that time persuasive methods conducted through a non-violent struggle under the leadership of Gandhi, had failed. An armed assault on the citadel of the British Empire in India was the only alternative left to deliver the country from bondage. While other leaders of the Indian National Congress fell short of realizing this fact and thus betrayed a lack of pragmatic approach to the turn of world events that provided India with a golden opportunity to strike at the British by a force of arms, Bose rose to the needs of the hour and was quick to seize that opportunity.

While Bose's compatriots in India remained totally wedded to an ideological creed (non-violence), which at that time could only serve the British and postpone the advent of independence, and while their ideological interpretations of the new revolutionary regimes in Europe—again largely influenced by British propa-

ganda—prevented them from even harboring any thought of seeking their alliance and co-operation in the struggle against a common enemy, Subhas Chandra Bose alone had the courage to take the great plunge, thus risking his own life and reputation, solely in the interest and cause of his country. In January 1941, while under both house arrest and strict British surveillance, he escaped. After an arduous trek through the rugged terrains of several countries, with an Italian passport under the assumed name of Orlando Mazzota—(in which he was aided by underground revolutionaries and foreign diplomatic agents)—Bose appeared in Berlin, via Moscow, on 28 March 1941.

Bose was welcome in Germany, although the news of his arrival there was kept a secret for some time for political reasons. The German Foreign Office, which was assigned the primary responsibility of dealing with Bose and taking care of him, had been well informed of the background and political status of the Indian leader through its pre-war Consulate-General at Calcutta and also by its representative in Kabul. Bose himself, naturally somewhat impatient for getting into action soon after his arrival in Berlin, submitted a memorandum to the German government on 9 April 1941 which outlined a plan for co-operation between the Axis powers and India. Among other things, it called for the setting up of a "Free India Government" in Europe, preferably in Berlin; establishment of a Free India broadcasting station calling upon the Indian people to assert their independence and rise up in revolt against the British authorities; underground work in Afghanistan (Kabul) involving independent tribal territories lying between Afghanistan and India and within India itself for fostering and aiding the revolution; provision of finances by Germany in the form of a loan to the Free India government-in-exile; and deployment of German military contingents to smash the British army in India. In a supplementary memorandum bearing the same date, Bose requested that an early pronouncement be made regarding the freedom of India and the Arab countries.² It is significant to note that the memorandum did not mention the need for formation of an Indian legion. Evidently the idea of recruiting the Indian prisoners of war for the purpose of establishing a nucleus of an Indian national army did not occur to him during his early days in Berlin.

At that time the German government was in the process of formulating its own plan for dealing with Subhas Chandra Bose in the best possible manner. The Foreign Office felt itself inadequate to discharge this awesome responsibility without referring the whole matter to Hitler. While this issue was being considered at the highest level of the government, Bose's own requests as set forth in the submitted memorandum, made it far too complicated and involved to be resolved at an early date. There was a long

wait for Bose, during which period he often tended to become frustrated. Nevertheless, through several sympathetic officers of the Foreign Office, he continued to press his requests and put forth new ideas.

Finally, after months of waiting and many moments of disappointment often bordering on despair for Bose, Germany agreed to give him unconditional and all-out help. The two immediate results of this decision were the establishment of a Free India Center and inauguration of a Free India Radio, both beginning their operations in November 1941. These two organizations played vital and significant roles in projecting Bose's increasing activities in Germany, but a detailed account of their operation lies outside the purview of this paper. It should suffice to say that the German government put at Bose's disposal adequate funds to run these two organizations, and he was allowed complete freedom to run them the way he liked at his own discretion.

In its first official meeting on 2 November 1941, the Free India Center adopted four historical resolutions that would serve as guidelines for the entire movement in subsequent months and years in Europe and Asia. First, *Jai Hind* or Victory to India, would be the official form of salutation; secondly, Nobel laureate poet Rabindranath Tagore's famous patriotic song *Jana Gana Mana* was to be the national anthem for the free India Bose was fighting for; thirdly, in a multi-lingual state like India, the most widely-spoken language, *Hindustani*, was to be the national language; and fourthly, Subhas Chandra Bose would hereafter be known and addressed as Netaji, the Indian equivalent of the "leader" or the "Fuehrer." In November 1941, Azad Hind Radio (or the Free India Radio) opened its program with an announcing speech by Netaji himself, which, in fact, was a disclosure of his identity that had been kept officially secret for so long. The radio programs were broadcast in several Indian languages on a regular basis.

During this long period of "hibernation," the period between Netaji's arrival in Berlin and the beginning of operations of the two organizations, it can be reasonably assumed that the idea of forming an Indian legion that could be developed into an Indian Army of Liberation in the West, crossed Bose's mind. He might even have discussed this matter with his colleagues—the Indian compatriots in Germany who had joined him—as to how best to implement the idea. However, as mentioned earlier, his first memorandum submitted to the German Government did not include any such plan. According to N.G. Ganpuley, who was his associate in Berlin,

Netaji himself, when he left India, could not have, by any stretch of imagination, thought of forming a national army unit outside the country, and therefore he had no definite plans chalked out for its

realization. Even while in Berlin, he could not think of it during the first few months of his stay there.³

When and how, therefore, did he come to conceive such a plan?

Mr. Ganpuley relates an interesting episode in this regard. To quote again from his book:

It was all due to a brain wave of Netaji which started working by a simple incident. He read one day about some half a dozen Indian prisoners-of-war who were brought to Berlin by the Radio Department to listen to the BBC and other stations which sent out their programmes in Hindustani. He saw them there going about, not as free Indians, but as prisoners-of-war. They were brought to the Radio Office every day to listen to and translate the Hindustani programmes, and were sent back to their quarters escorted by a sentry . . . After he had a talk with them about war, about their captivity and their present life, his active mind started working. . . He pondered over it for some time and decided to form a small national military unit . . . No sooner was this decision taken by him . . . he started negotiating with that section of the German Foreign Office with which he was in constant touch. He put before them his plans for training Indian youths from the prisoners' camps for a national militia.⁴

Although somewhat skeptical and hesitant at the beginning, the German response to the plans was encouraging. It was a time psychologically well-chosen by Netaji. The allied forces had been defeated on the Continent, and the Wehrmacht was marching ahead successfully in the Soviet Union. It was also a historical coincidence that a large number of British Indian prisoners-of-war, captured during Rommel's blitzkrieg in North Africa, lay in German hands. Netaji's first idea was to form small parachute parties to spread propaganda in, and transmit intelligence from, the North-West Frontier in India. The reaction of some selected prisoners who were brought to Berlin from the camp of Lamsdorf in Germany and Cyrenaica was so encouraging that he asked for all Indian prisoners held in North Africa to be brought over to Germany at once. The Germans complied with this request, and the prisoners began to be concentrated at Annaburg camp near Dresden. The recruitment efforts, however, at the onset met with some opposition from the prisoners, who evidently had misgivings about Netaji's intentions and motivations. In this regard Hugh Toye writes:

When Bose himself visited the camp in December there was still marked hostility. His speech was interrupted, and much of what he had to say went unheard. But private interviews were more encouraging; the men's questions showed interest—what rank would they receive? What credit would be given for Indian Army seniority? How would the Legionary stand in relation to the German soldier? Bose refused to bargain, and some who might have

been influential recruits were turned away. On the other hand, many of the men paid him homage as a distinguished Indian, several professed themselves ready to join the Legion unconditionally.⁵

Netaji sought and got agreement from the Germans that the Wehrmacht would train the Indians in the strictest military discipline, and they were to be trained in all branches of infantry in using weapons and motorized units the same way a German formation is trained; the Indian legionaries were not to be mixed up with any of the German formations; that they were not to be sent to any front other than in India for fighting against the British, but would be allowed to fight in self defense at any other place if surprised by any enemy formation; that in all other respects the Legion members would enjoy the same facilities and amenities regarding pay, clothing, food, leave, etc., as a German unit. By December 1941 all arrangements were complete and the next important task was to persuade men to come forward and form the nucleus. It appeared that the POWs needed to be convinced that there were civilian Indian youth as well, studying, well placed in life and responsible to their families at home, who were ready to give up everything to join the Legion. Ten of the forty young Indians then residing in Berlin, came forward. They were quickly joined by five POWs who were already in Berlin in connection with the German radio propaganda, and the first group of fifteen people was thus formed.

On 25 December 1941 a meeting of Indian residents in Berlin was called in the office of the Free India Center, to give a send-off to the first fifteen who were to leave the following day for Frankenburg, the first training camp and headquarters for the Legion. The brief ceremony was simple and solemn. Netaji blessed the Legion, the first of its kind in the history of the struggle for Indian independence. He christened it *Azad Hind Fauj* (Indian National Army). The Indian Army of Liberation in the West thus had a humble and modest birth.

The strength of the Legion grew steadily, as the task of recruitment continued unabated. Once trained to a certain level and discipline, the members of the first batch were assigned the additional responsibility of visiting the Annaberg camp and aiding in the recruitment process. While the Legion was sent to Frankenburg in Saxony, another group was taken to Meseritz in Brandenburg to be trained in tactical warfare. Abid Hasan and N.G. Swamy, the two original recruiters whom Netaji had sent to the Annaberg camp in 1941, had become de-facto founder-members of the Legion at Frankenburg and the irregular Company at Meseritz respectively. At Meseritz, the Indians were placed under the command of Hauptmann Harbig, whose first object was to make them forget that they had been prisoners.

There were Tajiks, Uzbeks and Persians as well under training for operational roles similar to that envisaged for the Indians. In due course the trainees went on to tactical operational training, such as wireless operating, demolitions and riding, and also undertook special mountain and parachute courses. According to Toye, "Morale, discipline and Indo-German relations were excellent, the German officers first-rate."⁶

Netaji visited the camps from time to time and watched progress of the trainees. Since he himself was inclined toward military training and discipline, he followed the German training methods with great interest. It is understood that while in Germany Netaji himself underwent the rigors of such training, although authoritative documents on this subject are yet to be located by this writer. While in India, he was a member of the University Training Corps at school and commanded the volunteers at an annual session of the Indian National Congress, but he never had a formal military education prior to his arrival in Germany in 1941. As Joyce Lebra writes: "Though Bose was without any previous military experience, he got his training and discipline German-style, along with the soldiers of the Indian Legion."⁷ To him, formation of a legion was more positive, more nationalistic and more gratifying than mere radio propaganda. Unlike his ex-compatriots in the Indian National Congress, including Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, he would rather seek confrontation with the British—with an army—than to work out a compromise with them on a conference table, on the issue of India's freedom. A firm believer in discipline and organization, nothing perhaps could be more satisfying to him than to see his men being trained by the German Command, with officers of the highest calibre. In four months, the number of trainees rose to three hundred. In another six months a further three hundred were added. By December 1942, exactly a year after the recruitment of the Legion was inaugurated, it attained the strength of four battalions. At the beginning of 1943 the Legion would be 2000 strong, well on its way up to the culminating point of 3500 men. But let us step back to early 1942, almost a year after Netaji's arrival in Berlin.

After the inauguration of the Free India Center, Free India Radio, and the sending of the first fifteen legionaries to the Frankenburg training camp, Netaji's activities in Germany began in full swing. His presence in Germany was not yet officially admitted—he was still being referred to as Signor Orlando Mazzota or His Excellency Mazzota—but he began to be known to more and more people in Berlin. Josef Goebbels wrote in his diary on 1 March:

We have succeeded in prevailing upon the Indian nationalist leader, Bose, to issue an imposing declaration of war against England. It will be published most prominently in the German

press and commented upon. In that way we shall now begin our official fight on behalf of India, even though we don't as yet admit it openly.⁸

On 14 March, he remarked of Bose, "He is an excellent worker."⁹ The fall of Singapore was a signal for Netaji to broadcast his first official speech over the Free India Radio, repeating his vow to fight British imperialism until the end. This he followed with a declaration of war against England, although at that stage such a pronouncement could only be symbolic. Netaji had not yet obtained an Axis declaration in support of the freedom of India that he pressed for in the supplement of his first memorandum to the German government. That government was of the opinion that the time was not ripe yet for such a declaration and unless a pronouncement of this nature could be supported by military action, it would not be of much value.

Meanwhile, Japan proposed a tripartite declaration on India. Encouraged by this, Bose met Mussolini in Rome on 5 May, and persuaded him to obtain such a declaration in favor of Indian independence. Mussolini telegraphed the Germans, proposing proceeding at once with the declaration. To back his new proposal Mussolini told the Germans that he had urged Bose to set up a "counter-government" and to appear more conspicuously. The German reaction, which still remained guarded, is recorded by Dr. Goebbels in his diary on 11 May:

We don't like this idea very much, since we do not think the time has yet come for such a political manoeuvre. It does appear though that the Japanese are very eager for some such step. However, emigre governments must not live too long in a vacuum. Unless they have some actuality to support them, they only exist in the realm of theory.¹⁰

Netaji apparently was of the opinion that a tripartite declaration on Indian independence, followed up by a government-in-exile, would give some credibility to his declaration of war on England, push over the brink the imminent revolution in India, and legitimize the Indian legion. However, Hitler held a different view. During an interview at the Fuehrer's field headquarters on 29 May, he told Netaji that a well-equipped army of a few thousand could control millions of unarmed revolutionaries, and there could be no political change in India until an external power knocked at her door. Germany could not yet do this. To convince Netaji, he took him to a wall map, pointed to the German positions in Russia and to India. The immense distances were yet to be bridged before such a declaration could be made. The world would consider it premature, even coming from him, at this stage. Hitler was perhaps being realistic, but nevertheless it must have come as some sort of disappointment for Netaji.

In July 1942, the Germans suggested that a contingent of the Irregular Company be sent for front-line propaganda against Indian troops at El Alamein; but Rommel, who did not like battle-fields turned into proving grounds for Foreign Office ideas, opposed the move. However, at the Lehrregiment manoeuvres in September, and on field exercises in October, the Indian performance won high praise. By January 1943, it was realized that maintenance of the irregulars as a separate entity was not of much practical use, and the ninety Indian men, (excepting four under N.G. Swamy who were being trained for work within India,) were absorbed into the Legion. Since the supply of recruits from the Annaburg camp was fast being depleted, it was decided to hasten the shipment of prisoners of war from Italy.

According to an agreement between Italy and Germany, all Indian POWs were to be sent directly to Germany without being held in Italian camps. But, in the meanwhile, an unforeseen impediment stood in the way. A long-time Indian resident in Rome, Iqbal Shedai, formed an Indian unit under the Italians, and began broadcasting from Rome with the aid of a few Indian prisoners. It is understood that he had conferred with Netaji a few times, but obviously had no intention of co-operating with him. From radio broadcasting, he advanced into forming an Indian military unit, although it was in clear violation of the Italo-German agreement. The unit was named the Centro Militare India, but existed only from April to November 1942. During its brief period of existence, however, Shedai succeeded in diverting several hundred volunteers to Italian camps, who would normally have gone to Germany. In November the unit was three hundred and fifty strong, having been trained by Italian officers. On 9 November, after the Allied landing in North Africa, it was learnt that the men were being sent to fight in Libya, contrary to Shedai's promises. When they refused to go and mutinied, Shedai refused to intervene. Consequently, the Centro Militare India was disbanded. It was never revived, and thus a barrier that stood in Netaji's way toward recruitment was removed.

In August 1942, the Legion was moved to Koenigsbrueck, a large military training center in Saxony. This had been a regular training ground for the German infantry and motorized units for decades. Here the first contingents paraded before Netaji's eyes in October, and the growth was rapid. However, the rapid expansion of the Legion also posed the problem of finances. Hitherto, payment to soldiers was being made from the monthly grants to the Free India Center and its office. As the number of Legionaries grew, that source became insufficient. For this problem, there could be but one solution: direct payment to the Legion by the Germans. This would mean hereafter that the Legionaries would receive promotions and precedence as soldiers of national

socialist Germany, and would become, in fact, a regiment of the German army, while retaining its separate name and distinction. This was agreed upon between Netaji and the German government, necessitating the taking of a formal oath of loyalty to Adolph Hitler on the part of the Legionaries. Describing the ceremony, Hugh Toye writes:

Five hundred Legionaries were assembled. Their German commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Krappe, addressed them, and the oath was administered by German officers to six men at a time. All was done with solemnity, the soldiers touching their officer's sword as they spoke the German words: 'I swear by God this holy oath, that I will obey the leader of the German State and people, Adolph Hitler, as commander of the German Armed Forces, in the fight for freedom of India, in which fight the leader is Subhas Chandra Bose, and that as a brave soldier, I am willing to lay down my life for this oath.' Bose presented to the Legion its standard, a tricolor in the green, white and saffron of the Indian National Congress, superimposed with the figure of a springing tiger in place of the Congress spinning wheel. "Our names," he said, "will be written in gold letters in the history of free India; every martyr in this holy war will have a monument there." It was a brave, colorful show, and for Bose, a moment of pride and emotion. "I shall lead the army," he said, "when we march to India together." The Legionaries looked well in their new uniforms, the silken banner gleaming in their midst; their drill did them credit. 11

What was Netaji's plan for leading this army to India? When the Germans launched out beyond Stalingrad into Central Asia, the Indian irregulars, trained at Messeritz, would accompany their Tajik and Uzbek counterparts along with the German Troops. After Uzbekistan and Afghanistan were reached the Indian Company would leap ahead of the German advance to disrupt the British-Indian defenses in northwestern India. Netaji spoke of dropping parachute brigades, calling on the Indian peasantry to assist them. Through radio he issued warnings to British Indian soldiers and police to the effect that unless they assisted the liberation forces they would one day have to answer to the free Indian government for their criminal support of the British. The effect of the Indian army of liberation marching into India along with the German forces would be such that the entire British Indian Army morale would collapse, coinciding with a revolutionary uprising against the British. The Legion would then be the nucleus of an expanding army of free India. Netaji's plan, largely dependent on German Military successes in the Soviet Union, undoubtedly had a setback when the Wehrmacht was halted at Stalingrad. After the German retreat from that city, the plan for marching into India from the West had to be abandoned. The tide of war was turning swiftly, calling for devising new strategies on the part of Netaji.

While the German army's second thrust into Russia encountered an unexpected counter-offensive at Stalingrad and thus was forced to turn back, in another part of the world the forces of another Axis partner were forging ahead, nearer and nearer to India. Japan was achieving spectacular successes in the Far East and was ready to welcome Netaji as the leader of millions of Indians who lived in the countries of East and Southeast Asia. To Netaji, the Japanese attitude was extremely encouraging. Tojo, the Prime Minister, had issued statements in the Diet about Indian freedom early in 1942, and by March there was a Japanese proposal for a tripartite declaration on India. A small band of Indian National Army legionaires had already been in existence in the Southeast under Japanese patronage, although a few of its leaders, including Mohan Singh, had fallen out with the Japanese. Netaji would have no difficulty in reorganizing and expanding this organization. He would get the active support of millions of overseas Indians, and the many thousands of British Indian prisoners-of-war would provide him a greater opportunity for recruitment, and for thus organizing a formidable army of liberation that could immediately be deployed in forward positions as the Imperial Japanese Army kept on advancing through the steaming jungles of the Malayan peninsula and Burma. During his meeting with Hitler on 29 May, the Fuehrer had also suggested that in view of the prevalent world situation, Netaji should shift the center of his activities from Germany to the Far East.

Netaji could look back at his two years work in Germany with a sense of pride and accomplishment. Broadcasting, publications and propaganda were all extended. Azad Hind Radio had extended programs in several languages, and reports indicated that they were being listened to with interest in target areas; Azad Hind, a bilingual journal, was being published regularly. There were other papers for the Legion besides; the Free India Center had attained an acknowledged status in Germany. It was treated as a foreign mission, entitling its members to a higher scale of rations, and exemption from some of the Aliens' regulations. Netaji himself was given a good villa, a car and special rations for entertainment purposes. His personal allowance amounted to about eight hundred pounds a month. The monthly grant for the Free India Center rose from 1,200 pounds in 1941 to 3,200 pounds in 1944. All these Netaji stipulated as a loan from the German government, to be returned after India gained independence with the Axis assistance. However, the turn of events now demanded his presence in a different theater-of-war.

What would happen to the Legion in Netaji's absence? It was now 3,500 strong, well trained and equipped, ready for action. Netaji consulted with his aides in Berlin. A.C.N. Nambiar, an

Indian journalist who had been in Europe for some eighteen years prior to Netaji's arrival in Germany, was his right-hand man. While preparing for his journey to the Asian theater-of-war, Netaji passed on to Nambiar his policy and instructions. As Hugh Toye writes:

There were plans for new branches of the Free India Center, for broadcasting, for Indians to study German police methods, and for the training of Indian seamen and airmen. As for the legion, it must be used actively as soon as possible, the German officers and NCOs must be quickly replaced by Indians, there must be no communalism. Legionaries were to be trained on all the most modern German equipment, including heavy artillery and tanks; Bose would send further instructions as opportunity offered. 12

A few words must be added regarding the Indo-German co-operation and comradeship during the critical days of World War II when the Legion was formed. None could describe it better than Adalbert Seifriz, who was a German Officer in the training camp of the Legionaries. He writes,

Agreeing to the proposal of Bose was a magnificent concession and consideration shown to the great personality of Bose by the German Government in those critical times when all German efforts were concentrated on the war . . . The mutual understanding and respect between Indians and Germans and the increasing contact between them in the interest of the common task made it possible for the Indian Legion to sustain and keep up discipline right up to the German capitulation in 1945. During the period of training and even afterwards the comradeship between Indians and Germans could not be destroyed . . . A meeting with Subhas Bose was a special event for the German training staff. We spent many evenings with him, discussing the future of India. He lives in the minds of the training staff members as an idealistic and fighting personality, never sparing himself in the service of his people and his country . . . The most rewarding fact was the real comradeship which grew between Indians and Germans, which proved true in dangerous hours, and exists still today in numerous cases. The Indian Legion was a precious instrument in strengthening and consolidating Indo-German friendship. 13

A report of Hitler's visit to the Indian Legion headquarters in Dresden was given by Shantaram Vishnu Samanta (one of the Legionaries) during a press interview in India, after his release from an internment camp. According to his statement, Hitler addressed the soldiers of the Legion after Netaji had left for East Asia. He spoke in German and his speech was translated into Hindustani by an interpreter. He said:

You are fortunate having been born in a country of glorious cultural traditions and a colossal manpower. I am impressed by the burning passion with which you and your Netaji seek to liber-

ate your country from foreign domination. Your Netaji's status is even greater than mine. While I am the leader of eighty million Germans, he is the leader of 400 million Indians. In all respects he is a greater leader and a greater general than myself. I salute him, and Germany salutes him. It is the duty of all Indians to accept him as their führer and obey him implicitly. I have no doubt that if you do this, his guidance will lead India very soon to freedom.

A statement by another soldier of the Indian Legion, who remains anonymous, has a somewhat different version. It stated that both Netaji and Hitler took a joint salute of the Indian Legion and a German infantry. In addition to comments cited earlier, Hitler was reported to have made these remarks as well:

German civilians, soldiers and free Indians! I take this opportunity to welcome your acting Führer, Herr Subhas Chandra Bose. He has come here to guide all those free Indians who love their country and are determined to free it from foreign yoke. It is too much for me to dare to give you any instructions or advice because you are sons of a free country, and you would naturally like to obey implicitly the accredited leader of your own land.¹⁴

However, reports of Hitler's visit and address to the Indian Legionaries are not confirmed from any other source.

Netaji would be leaving Germany on 8 February 1943. On 26 January, "Independence Day for India," there was a great party in Berlin where hundreds of guests drank his health. On 28 January, which was set aside for observance as the "Legion Day" in honor of the Indian Legion, he addressed the Legion for the last time. It is believed that his departure was kept secret from his army. So, there were no visible emotions among the men; no gesture of a farewell. The impression Netaji was leaving at the Free India Center, was that he was going on a prolonged tour. So there were no signs of any anxiety. Except for a few top-ranking German officers and his closest aides, hardly anybody was aware that within a week-and-a-half he would be embarking on the most perilous journey ever undertaken by man; a submarine voyage through mine-infested waters to the other side of the world. In his absence, Nambiar settled down in his job as his successor and soon gained respect of the Legionaries.

Two months after Netaji's departure, as a result of discussion between the German Army Command and the Free India Center, it was decided to transfer the Legion from Koenigsbrueck to a coastal region in Holland, to involve it in a practical coastal defense training. It was also in accordance with Netaji's wishes. He had often expressed a desire to give his troops, whenever possible, some training in coastal defense. After the first battalion was given a hearty send-off, an untoward incident happened within the legion; two companies of the second battalion refused

to move. It was soon found out that there were three main reasons for staging this minor rebellion. Some Legionaries were unhappy that they were not promoted, but their names had to be put on the waiting list; some simply did not want to leave Koenigsbrueck; some were influenced by a rumor that Netaji had abandoned them and had gone off leaving them entirely in German hands, who were now going to use them in the Western Front, instead of sending them to the East to fight for India's liberation. However, the rebellion was soon quelled after a team of NCOs visited the officials of the Free India Center in Berlin and obtained clarification regarding the rebel Legionaries' grievances. The team went back to the camp and assured the men that they were not being sent to fight a war but were there purely for practical training purposes according to Netaji's wishes; that the promotions were not being passed up, they would follow in due course; and that Netaji had not abandoned them, and they would be informed about his whereabouts and plans as soon as possible. In pursuance of military discipline, the ringleaders of this act of insubordination were sent to prison camps for a specified period.

The Legion was stationed in the coastal areas of Holland for five months. Afterwards, there was a decision to move it to the coastal area of Bordeaux in France from the mouth of the Girond, opposite the fortification of Foyan to the Bay of Arcachon. The Legion was taking charge here. The stay in France was utilized to give the Legionaries a thorough training in the weaponry required for the defense of the Atlantic Wall. In the spring of 1944, the first batch of twelve Indians were promoted to officers. Field Marshal Rommel, who took charge of the Atlantic Wall, once visited the area where the Indian contingent was located. Gan-pulay writes:

... after having seen the work carried out by the Indians, he exclaimed: "I am pleasantly surprised to find that in spite of very little training in coastal defense, the work done here is fairly satisfactory." While departing, he said to the Indian soldiers: "I am glad to see you have done good work; I wish you and your leader all the good luck!" 15

In the spring of 1944, one company of the Legion was sent to North Italy at the request of some officers who were seeking an opportunity to confront the British forces. After the Normandy invasion by the Allied forces in June 1944, the military situation in Europe began to deteriorate. It eventually became so critical that the German High Command decided to order the Indian Legion to return to Germany. So after about ten months of stay in the coastal region of Lacanau in France, the Indian Legion started its road back. It is to be understood at this point that with the landing of the Allied troops in France and their gradual advance

through the French countryside, the French Maquis (underground) guerillas had become very active, and along with the German troops they made the Legionaries as well the target of their attacks. After travelling a certain distance, the first battalion of the Legion was temporarily located in the area of Mansle near Poitiers, while the second and the third battalion were stationed in Angouleme and Poitiers respectively. After a rest for ten days in this region, during which period they had to ward off sporadic attacks by the French underground, the Legionaries took to the road once again. In this long march back to Germany, the Legion demonstrated exemplary courage and fortitude, and underwent rigors and hardships of battlefield with equanimity. At this time, British propaganda was directed to these men which was full of empty promises; some material was dropped from the air, while agents infiltrated into the ranks to persuade the men to desert. The propaganda promised the would-be deserters reinstatement in the British Indian army with full retroactive pay and pension, but the British hypocrisy was once again manifest in the fact that a few of the soldiers who had fallen victim to this bait were shot later by the French publicly in a market place in Poitiers without any trial, along with some German prisoners-of-war.

In following the saga of the Indian Army of Liberation in the West, one has to remember that its fate was indissolubly linked with that of the Axis powers in Europe, especially Germany. The overpowering of the new revolutionary regimes of Europe by forces representing an alliance of capitalism and Marxism was an international tragedy which engulfed the Indian Legion in Europe as well. During its retreat into Germany, it encountered the enemy forces on several occasions and fought rearguard action with British and French forces, displaying exemplary bravery. The German military training had converted the regiment not only into a highly disciplined body, but a hard-core fighting unit as well. It is indeed a historical irony that this superb force could not be utilized for the purpose and way its creator and leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, had dreamt of. Nevertheless, the 950th Indian Regiment, as the Legion was officially designated, left its footprints in the battlefields of France and Germany, as their many other gallant comrades of the German Army.

In the fall of 1944 until Christmas, the Indian Legion spent its time in the quiet villages of southern Germany. Between Christmas and the New Year 1945, the unit was ordered to move into the military camp at the garrison town of Heuberg. In the spring of 1945 the Allied forces crossed the Rhine. The Russians entered the East German provinces murdering and plundering cities, townships and villages. Heavy bomber formations began de-

stroying German cities. Transport systems became completely disorganized and paralyzed. The end was near, and there was no point in remaining in the barracks. The Legion, therefore, left its winter quarters at Heuberg in March 1945, and headed for the Alpine passes. By that time all communications with the Free India Center in Berlin had been cut off. The Legion commanders took decisions independently. The Legion had already reached the Alpine regions east of Bodensee. However, with the surrender of the German forces on 7 May, all hopes also ended for the Free India Army. While attempting to cross over to Switzerland, the legionaries were overwhelmed by American and French units and were made prisoners. Those who fell into the hands of the French had to suffer very cruel treatment. Several were shot, while others died in prison camps in miserable conditions. The rest were eventually handed over to the British.

Although thus swept into the maelstrom of the Axis disintegration in Europe, Netaji's army of liberation in the west had carved for itself a niche in history; for, indeed, it was a nucleus which would eventually precipitate a much larger fighting force elsewhere. Inspired by its leader, that force would march into India to set in motion a process that would eventually deliver the country from an alien bondage. One, therefore, must not regard the saga of the Indian National Army in Europe as an isolated event that ended tragically. While its dream of crossing the Caucasus along with its allies, the German Armed Forces, and entering India from the Northwest, did not materialize in reality, its extension and successor, India's army of liberation in the east, did enter the country from the opposite direction, thus fulfilling the cherished dream of Netaji and his soldiers. Not only that, as we shall see subsequently, but that army made the mightiest contribution toward finally ending an imperialist rule in India.

During his interview with Netaji, Hitler had suggested to him that since it would take at least another one or two years before Germany could gain direct influence in India, and while Japan's influence, in view of its spectacular successes in Southeast Asia, could come in a few months, Bose should negotiate with the Japanese. The Fuehrer warned Bose against an air journey which could compel him to a forced landing in British territory. He thought Bose was too important a personality to let his life be endangered by such an experiment. Hitler suggested that he could place a German submarine at his disposal which would take him to Bangkok on a journey around the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁶ However, despite Hitler's suggestions, it is believed that the German Foreign Office showed some reluctance in the matter of Netaji's leaving Germany and going to Japan. Col. Yamamoto Bin, Japanese military attache in Berlin (and a good personal friend of Netaji) along with the Japanese ambassador Lieutenant-General

Oshima Hiroshi, had met Netaji as early as October 1941 when the latter expressed hopes for enlisting Japanese aid in his plans for wresting Indian independence. This was the beginning of a series of such meetings.

After the entry of Japan in World War II in December, Netaji was more eager to go as soon as possible to East Asia and fight beside Japan for India's liberation. He reportedly urged Oshima to use his good offices to secure his passage to Asia. It was about at this point that both Oshima and Yamamoto encountered a feeling of reluctance in the matter on the part of the German Foreign Office. They had the feeling that Germany was not too willing to let Japan lead India to independence. Bose was already a useful ally as an Indian patriot, and his propaganda broadcasts were effective in both India and Britain. The Indian Legion was already having a psychological impact in India and worrying the Allies. For these reasons, "they were guarding Bose like a tiger cub."¹⁷

In the meantime, Ambassador Oshima had also met with Hitler and explained Bose's plan to him. According to Japanese records,

The Fuehrer readily agreed with Oshima that it was better for Bose to shift his activities to Southeast Asia now that his country's (Japan's) armies had overrun the area. The second problem was whether Bose would get enough support in Tokyo for his activities. On this, Oshima had contacted Tokyo many times but had not received any firm answer. Finally, Tokyo replied to Oshima that in principle it had no objection to Bose's visit to Japan. The third problem was to provide Bose with a safe means of transport to Japan. Communication between Germany and Japan was impossible during those days. Passage by boat was ruled out; and it was decided to use a plane belonging to the Lufthansa Company to airlift Bose from Germany to Japan via the Soviet Union. Tojo (Japanese Prime Minister) objected to this on the grounds that this would amount to a breach of trust with the Soviet Union. An attempt was made by both Yamamoto and Bose to get an Italian plane, but this also did not work. Finally the choice fell on a submarine. Germany agreed to carry Bose up to a certain unknown point in the east and asked that a Japanese submarine be pressed into service thence forward. After a series of exchanges with his government, Oshima finally obtained Tokyo's approval of the plan and communicated it to Bose.¹⁸

Alexandar Werth writes:

An interesting anecdote related to this historic journey may perhaps be mentioned here. Shortly before Bose's departure the Japanese Naval Command raised objections because of an internal Japanese regulation not permitting civilians to travel on a warship in wartime. When Adam von Trott (of the German Foreign Office) received this message by cable from the German Ambassador in Tokyo, he sent the following reply: "Subhas Chandra Bose is by no

means a private person, but Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Liberation Army." Thus the bureaucratic interference was overcome.¹⁹

On 8 February 1943, accompanied by Keppler, Nambiar and Werth, Netaji arrived at the port of Kiel where a German submarine under the command of Werner Musenberg was waiting for him. His would-be sole companion on this perilous voyage, Abid Hasan had travelled separately to Kiel in a special compartment without knowing his destination. Only after commencement of the journey was he to be informed of the itinerary. Netaji was leaving behind his chosen 3,500 soldiers of the Indian Legion, the 950th regiment of the German Army, specially trained and equipped for the task of liberating an India held in bondage by the British. We have already followed the history and fate of the Legion. Now let us turn to the East.

Indian National Army of Liberation in the East

On 15 February 1942, Singapore fell to the Japanese army advancing southward from the Malayan peninsula. Two days later, in an impressive ceremony held at Farrar Park in the heart of the town, Indian troops were handed over to the Japanese as prisoners-of-war by their commanding officer, Colonel Hunt. Major Fujiwara took them over on behalf of the victorious Japanese, and then announced that he was handing them over to Captain Mohan Singh of the Indian contingents, who should be obeyed by them as their Supreme Commander. Mohan Singh then spoke to the Indian POWs, expressing his intention of raising an Indian national army out of them to fight for India's freedom. He held a preliminary discussion with some prominent Indians in Malay and Burma in a meeting in Singapore on 9 and 10 March, which was attended by Rashbehari Bose, a veteran Indian revolutionary exile living in Japan for the last quarter of a century. Bose then called a conference in Tokyo, which was held 28-30 March. The delegates representing several East and Southeast Asian countries present at the conference, decided to form the Indian Independence League to organize an Indian independence movement in East Asia. Bose was recognized as head of the organization. The conference further resolved that "militay action against the British in India will be taken only by the INA and under Indian command, together with such military, naval and air cooperation and assistance as may be requested from the Japanese by the Council of Action" and further, "after the liberation of India, the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India."²⁰

On 15 June 1942, a conference opened in Bangkok with over a hundred delegates of the IIL attending from all over Asia. By the

close of the nine-day conference a resolution was unanimously adopted setting forth the policies of the independence movement in East Asia. The IIL was proclaimed the organization to work for India's freedom; the Indian National Army was declared the military arm of the movement with Mohan Singh as the Commander-in-chief and Rashbehari Bose was elected president of the Council of Action. It was further decided that Singapore would be the headquarters of the IIL. Netaji had stated in a message to the conference that his personal experience had convinced him that Japan, Italy and Germany were sworn enemies of British imperialism; yet, independence could come only through the efforts of Indians themselves. India's freedom would mean the rout of British imperialism. The Indian National Army was officially inaugurated in September 1942.

Unfortunately, at this point a distrust began to grow within the Indian group against Rashbehari Bose's leadership. Some thought that having been long associated with Japan, he gave precedence to the Japanese interests over Indian interests. According to Japanese records:

Some even thought that he was just the protege of the Japanese, and that the latter was exploiting Indians for their own ends. Such resentment finally resulted in a revolt of a group of leaders headed by Captain Mohan Singh within the INA in November 1942. As a consequence, Mohan Singh and his associate, Colonel Gill were both arrested by the Japanese and the Indian Army was disbanded. However, in 1943 a new Indian Army was organized, put under the command of Lt. Col. Bhonsle, who held this post until the final dissolution of the army.²¹

Describing the revived INA. Joyce Lebra writes:

On 15 February 1943, the INA was reorganized and former ranks and badges revived. The Director of the Military Bureau, Lieutenant-Colonel Bhonsle, was clearly placed under the authority of the IIL to avoid any repetition of IIL-INA rivalry. Under Bhonsle was Lt. Col. Shah Nawaz Khan as Chief of General Staff; Major P.K. Sahgal as Military Secretary; Major Habibur Rahman as commandant of the Officers' Training School; and Lt. Col. A.C. Chatterji, and later Major A.D. Jahangir, as head of enlightenment and culture. Apart from this policy-forming body was the Army itself, under the command of Lt. Col. M.Z. Kiani. This was the organization which held the INA together until the arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose from Berlin, six months later.²²

In February, the Japanese military officer Iwakuro had called a meeting of about three hundred officers of the INA at Bidadri camp in Singapore and spoke to them about the advisability of joining the army, but with no effect. According to Ghosh, "Later on, in a 'Heart to heart talk' with some officers, it emerged that a large number of officers and men would be willing to continue in

the INA on the express condition that Netaji would be coming to Singapore."²³

The story of Netaji's exploits in Germany and the history of the Indian Legion was known to Indian revolutionaries of the IIL in East Asia for some time now, and they awaited his arrival eagerly. As the first INA wavered, faltered and was finally disbanded, and as its successor merely continued to exist, the need for Netaji's leadership began to be felt more keenly. Mohan Singh had mentioned his name to General Fujiwara as early as 1941. In all conferences the need of his guidance had been emphasized by the delegates.

While Netaji and Abid Hasan continued to push toward the East making a wide sweep out into the Atlantic, by pre-arrangement, a Japanese submarine left Penang Island on 20 April for the tip of Africa, under strict orders not to attack or risk detection. The two submarines had a rendezvous four hundred miles south-southwest of Madagascar on 26 April. After sighting each other and confirming their identity, the submarines waited for a day for the sea to become calm. Then on 28 April, in what was known to be the only known submarine-to-submarine transfer of passengers (in the annals of World War II) in an area dominated by the enemy's air and naval strength, Netaji and Abid Hasan were transhipped into the Japanese submarine via a rubber raft. Travelling across the ocean, the Japanese I-29 reached Sabang on 6 May, 1943. It was an isolated offshore islet north of Sumatra. There, Netaji was welcomed by Colonel Yamamoto, who was the head of the Hikari Kikan, the Japanese-Indian liaison group. From Sabang, Netaji and Yamamoto left for Tokyo by plane, stopping en route at Penang, Manila, Saigon and Taiwan. The plane landed in Tokyo on 16 May. All throughout his submarine voyage from Germany and for about a month after his arrival in Tokyo, Netaji's identity and presence was kept a secret. He was supposed to be a Japanese VIP named Matsuda. Although he remained incognito during the first few weeks in Japan, Netaji did not waste any time by just waiting. From 17 May onwards, he met Japanese Army and Navy Chiefs-of-Staff, Navy Minister and Foreign Minister in rapid succession. However, he had to wait for nearly three weeks before Japanese Prime Minister Tojo granted him an interview. But Tojo was so impressed with Netaji's personality that he offered to meet him again after four days. Two days later, on 16 June, Netaji was invited to visit the Diet (the Japanese Parliament) where Tojo surprised him with his historic declaration on India:

We are indignant about the fact that India is still under the ruthless suppression of Britain and are in full sympathy with her desperate struggle for independence. We are determined to ex-

tend every possible assistance to the cause of India's independence. It is our belief that the day is not far off when India will enjoy freedom and prosperity after winning independence.²⁴

It was not until 18 June that Tokyo Radio announced Netaji's arrival. The news was reported in the Tokyo press the following day. At this announcement, the atmosphere was electrified overnight. The Axis press and radio stressed the significance of the event. The INA and the Indian independence movement suddenly assumed far greater importance in the eyes of all. On 19 June, Netaji held a press conference. This was followed by two broadcasts to publicize further his presence in East Asia, and during the course of these he unfolded his plan of action. As Ghosh describes,

Bose's plan stood for the co-ordination of the nationalist forces within India and abroad to make it a gigantic movement powerful enough to overthrow the British rulers of India. The assumption on which Bose seemed to have based his grand scheme was that the internal conditions in India were ripe for a revolt. The no-cooperation movement must turn into an active revolt.²⁵

And to quote Netaji's own words during the press conference: "Civil disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people have received the baptism of fire on a large scale would they be qualified to achieve freedom."²⁶ Netaji then embarked upon a series of meetings, press conferences, radio broadcasts and lectures in order to explain his immediate task to the people concerned, and the world.

Accompanied by Rashbehari Bose, Netaji arrived at Singapore from Tokyo on 27 June. He was given a tumultuous welcome by the resident Indians and was profusely 'garlanded' wherever he went. His speeches kept the listeners spellbound. By now, a legend had grown around him, and its magic infected his audiences. Addressing representatives of the Indian communities in East Asia on 4 July he said:

Not content with a civil disobedience campaign, Indian people are now morally prepared to employ other means for achieving their liberation. The time has therefore come to pass on to the next stage of our campaign. All organizations whether inside India or outside, must now transform themselves into a disciplined fighting organization under one leadership. The aim and purpose of this organization should be to take up arms against British imperialism when the time is ripe and signal is given.²⁷

At a public meeting where Netaji spoke these words, Rashbehari Bose formally handed over to Subhas Chandra Bose the leadership of the IIL and command of the INA. The hall was packed to capacity. In his last speech as leader of the movement Rashbehari Bose said:

Friends! This is one of the happiest moments in my life. I have brought you one of the most outstanding personalities of our great Motherland to participate in our campaign. In your presence today, I resign my office as president of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. From now on, Subhas Chandra Bose is your president, your leader in the fight for India's independence, and I am confident that under his leadership, you will march on to battle and to victory. ²⁸

In that meeting Netaji announced his plan to organize a Provisional Government of Free India.

It will be the task of this provisional government to lead the Indian Revolution to its successful conclusion . . . The Provisional Government will have to prepare the Indian people, inside and outside India, for an armed struggle which will be the culmination of all our national efforts since 1883. We have a grim fight ahead of us. In this final march to freedom, you will have to face danger, thirst, privation, forced marches—and death. Only when you pass this test will freedom be yours. ²⁹

The next day, on 5 July, Netaji took over the command of the Indian National Army, now christened *Azad Hind Fauj* (Free India Army). Tojo arrived from Manila in time to review the parade of troops standing alongside with Bose. Addressing the soldiers, Netaji said:

Throughout my public career, I have always felt that, though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she has lacked one thing, namely, an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honor to be the first to come forward and organize India's national army. By doing so you have removed the last obstacle in our path to freedom . . . When France declared war on Germany in 1939 and the campaign began, there was but one cry which rose from the lips of German soldiers—"To Paris! To Paris!" When the brave soldiers of Nippon set out on their march in December 1941, there was but one cry which rose from their lips—"To Singapore! To Singapore!" Comrades! My soldiers! Let your battle-cry be—"To Delhi! To Delhi!" How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—*Lal Kila* or the Red Fortress of ancient Delhi. ³⁰

On 27 July, Netaji left Singapore for a 17-day tour of the East Asian and Southeast Asian countries. The prime objective of this tour was to enlist moral and monetary support for his movement from other countries, as well as the resident Indian communities. He was given a rousing reception in Rangoon, where he attended the Burmese independence on 1 August; from Rangoon Netaji

went to Bangkok and met Thai Prime Minister Pilbulsongram. He won the moral support of Thailand and tumultuous ovation from the Indian community. He then flew to Saigon and addressed Indians there. Returning to Singapore for a brief rest, he flew to Penang to address a rally of 15,000 Indians. Everywhere, he held his audience spellbound for hours with his superb oratory, and at the conclusion of his speech the people raced to reach the platform and pile up all they had before him—a total of two million dollars. This scene was repeated over and over in towns and cities all over Southeast Asia, when Netaji stood before thousands of people like a prophet, addressing them for the cause of India's freedom. Merchants, traders, businessmen and women came forward everywhere and donated their wealth and ornaments in abundance, to enable their leader to fulfill his mission.

In his plan for total mobilization, Netaji had outlined a grandiose scheme for an army of three million men. However, the immediate target was set at 50,000. The Major part of this number would be from the Indian POWs and the rest from civilian volunteers. According to Bose's plan there would be three divisions from thirty thousand regulars and another unit of twenty thousand mainly from civilian volunteers. The Japanese authorities informed Netaji at that time that it could provide arms for thirty thousand men only. However, by 1945, it was authoritatively known that the actual strength of the INA rose to not less than 45,000 men. After completing the task of reorganizing the Indian Independence League and launching preparations for revolutionizing the army, and after conducting a successful campaign to mobilize the support of the Indian communities throughout Southeast Asia—a phase which lasted from July to October—Netaji turned toward formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). This had to be done before the army could be sent for action in the battlefield. This government was officially proclaimed in Singapore at a mass rally on 21 October 1943 where Netaji was unanimously elected as the Head of the State and The Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army. While taking the oath he said:

In the name of God, I take this sacred oath that to liberate India and the three hundred eighty million of my countrymen, I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue the sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life. I shall remain always a servant of India, and to look after the welfare of three hundred eighty million of Indian brothers and sisters shall be for me my highest duty. Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed even the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India's freedom.³¹

The Provisional Government of Free India had five Ministers with Netaji as the Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and advisers representing the Indian communities in

East Asia. The first momentous decision which the new government took was its declaration of war on Britain and the United States, which was decided on the night of 22-23 October. Toye writes: "The Cabinet had not been unanimous about the inclusion of the U.S.A. Bose had shown impatience and displeasure—there was never any question then or later of his absolute authority: the Cabinet had no responsibility and could only tender advice."³² Recognition of the Provisional Government came quickly from nine countries—the Axis powers and their allies. They were: Japan, Burma, Croatia, Germany, the Philippines, Nanking China, Manchuto, Italy and Siam (Thailand), but for some unknown reasons, Vichy France withheld its recognition. The Japanese Army promised all-out support for the provisional government.

Toward the end of October, Netaji flew to Tokyo again to meet Tojo and to attend the greater East Asia Conference. Since India technically did not fall within this sphere, he attended as an observer. He made an impressive speech at the conference, stressing the creation of a new Asia where all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism would be eliminated. The Japanese navy had captured the Andaman and Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal during the early months of war. As a result of Netaji's requests, Prime Minister Tojo announced at the conference that Japan had decided to place the two islands under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of Free India, thereby giving it its first sovereignty over a territory. The ceremonial transfer took place in December, and Netaji named Lieutenant-Colonel Loganathan, an officer in the Medical Services, as the chief commissioner in charge of the civil administration of the islands. Soon thereafter, preparations began for sending the army to the front and moving the provisional government headquarters to Rangoon, in Burma. In the meantime, Netaji announced the formation of a women's brigade within the INA, and named it "Rani of Jhansi Regiment," after the celebrated queen of Jhansi, Laxmibai, who had led her soldiers against the British in an uprising during the First War of Independence in 1857. Coincidentally, another Laxmi, Lieutenant-Col. Laxmi, was placed in charge of this regiment by Netaji. In November it was agreed between Netaji and the Japanese military headquarters, that the INA first division and the civil and military headquarters would move to Burma in January 1944.

The Imphal Campaign

The Imphal Campaign, including the battle of Kohima—the first major town to be captured by the INA inside India—will perhaps go down as one of the most daring and disastrous campaigns in the annals of world military history. General Mutaguchi, com-

mander of the Japanese forces in North Burma since 1943, had been convinced that Imphal should be attacked. The objects of such an offensive were to forestall any invasion of Burma in 1944 and to establish the Japanese defences on the frontier mountains. The idea would be first to overwhelm the British in Arakan, involving all their reserves in battle for Chittagong and the gateway to eastern Bengal. Then, by April, Kohima and Imphal could be conquered at leisure, without danger of their being reinforced. The monsoon, beginning in May, would postpone operations, and after the rains were over, in the absence of a new British defense posture east of the river Brahmaputra, the entire Assam and East Bengal would lie open to the Indian National Army and the Japanese.

Imphal, the capital of the state of Manipur, lay on a flat, nearly treeless plateau just inside the Indian border. Its elevation was about 3,000 feet, surrounded on all sides by impassable mountains. The mountain range in the east with 2,000-4,000 foot peaks above the plateau stretches some five hundred miles. To the West and South are the Chin hills of the Arakan range, a formidable stretch of inhospitable terrain. The jungle surrounding this basin is hostile to human habitation. The northern access to the plain from India and Assam lay through Dimapur and the steep Kohima Road. From Dimapur, a single track railway swept through Assam and Bengal and was an important military objective to both armies. For the INA the importance of the Imphal campaign was that it was the only major battle in which it would participate with the object of achieving freedom for India. As Saito and Hayashida writes:

The Imphal Operation was the final offensive of the East Asia War, mounted by three Burma-based Japanese divisions, and one INA division. The campaign lasted from 15 March to 9 July 1944. The operation has often been compared to the operation Wacht am Rhein or the Battle of the Bulge, which was the final all-out drive launched by Germany towards Ardennes on the Western Front, from December 1944 to January 1945. Both operations almost succeeded and both are termed "gambles" by historians today. If the German push towards Ardennes was Wacht am Rhein, the Japanese-Indian thrust against Imphal might be called "Wacht am Chindwin" although the official Japanese code-name for the action was most prosaic: Operation "U".³³

River Chindwin lay across the Indo-Burmese border, and its crossing from the east by an army would signal an invasion of India.

Execution orders for Operation U became operative on 7 January 1944, coinciding with completion of the shifting of the Provisional Government headquarters in Rangoon. In the evening of the same day, Lt. General Masakazu Kawabe, commanding the

overall Burma headquarters, held a welcome party in honor of Netaji and his staff officers. Netaji spoke, and concluded his speech with these words: "My only prayer to the Almighty at this moment is that we may be given the earliest opportunity to pay for our freedom with our own blood."³⁴ One INA Division, named after Netaji as Subhas Regiment, was readied for action at the front with the Japanese. Toye writes:

... He spent the whole days ... with the Subhas Regiment, reviewing, watching it at exercises and on parade, talking to its officers, exerting his magic on it in a way that he had not attempted before. These were his comrades, the men by whose means he would uphold the rights and honour of India. Everything depended on their achievement in battle; they must absorb all his feelings of confidence, feel the whole of his personal force. On 3 February he bade them farewell: "Blood is calling for blood. Arise! We have no time to lose. Take up your arms. There in front of you is the road our pioneers have built. We shall march along that road. We shall carve our way through enemy's ranks, or, if God wills, we shall die a martyr's death. And in our last sleep we shall kiss the road which will bring our Army to Delhi. The road to Delhi is the road to Freedom. On to Delhi!"³⁵

Mutaguchi set 15 March as the D-day for the beginning of the Imphal campaign. The deployment of well over 120,000 troops along the Chindwin river, a front of some 200 kilometers, went on smoothly and undetected by British spies planted in the area. In the meantime, Netaji received some good news. The Arakan offensive, launched on 4 February, had cut off the 7th Indian Division of the British Army in Mayu valley. Contributing to this success was the reconnaissance and subversion of an Indian outpost position by Major Misra, the INA Commander in Arakan. At the same time, he received messages from the underground network working inside India under his direction, whose selected trained spies had been sent by submarine. On D-day, Mutaguchi assembled the war correspondents at his headquarters in central Burma and declared: "I am firmly convinced that my three divisions will reduce Imphal in one month. In order that they can march fast, they carry the lightest possible equipment and food enough for three weeks. Ah, they will get everything from the British supplies and dumps. Boys! See you again in Imphal at the celebration of the Emperor's birthday on 29 April."³⁶

The Japanese-Indian offensive took the British by complete surprise. The Japanese and INA troops literally galloped through mountains and jungles routing the enemy on the way. Prior to the Imphal offensive, an INA detachment under Colonel Sahgal had created a breach through the British lines in the Arakan sector. Now the INA's deployment was extended to the Imphal sector. As the INA under Netaji's command set foot on the Indian soil, the

main Japanese force also defeated the obstinate resistance of the enemy on 22 March, broke through the India-Burma border, and advanced from the north and west to encircle Imphal. The initial success of the INA at the Arakan front generated much enthusiasm. In a Special Order of the Day, Netaji referred to the "Glorious and brilliant actions of the brave forces of the Azad Hind Fauj." ³⁷

On 8 April, Japanese Imperial Headquarters issued a communiqué which said: "Japanese troops, fighting side by side with the Indian National Army, captured Kohima early on 6 April.³⁸ A jubilant Netaji at this time started talking with the Japanese about the administration of the liberated and soon-to-be-liberated territories in India. In response to a call by Netaji, Prime Minister Tojo made an announcement clarifying that all areas of India occupied as a result of Japanese advance would be placed under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government. This was followed by Netaji's announcement that he was appointing the Finance Minister of his cabinet, Major-General A.C. Chatterjee, as the governor of the newly liberated areas. Netaji described the march of the INA into India as the event of the century. He had also just declared the Legion in Europe to be part of the INA and had appointed Nambiar to be a Minister in the Provisional Government; his Chief Commissioner had been installed in the Andamans, his first heroes from the Arakan front had been decorated, and the INA troops had raised the national standard of free India in Kohima; and now, the fall of Imphal seemed very near.

Did the Imphal Campaign come almost two years too late? What would have happened if Netaji had arrived in East Asia a year earlier? by the end of 1942, the Axis had scored successes everywhere.

Rommel was in Egypt, the German invasion of Russia had gone smoothly, Nationalist China was on her knees, and India and Australia were expecting a Japanese invasion. Prospects for the Allies were dark in the Pacific and the Rising Sun was at its zenith from Japan to the Bay of Bengal . . . Britain was unable to dispute with the Japanese Navy, and there were not enough British and Indian troops in India to assure its defense. Even air protection was inadequate . . . Japanese forces had not pursued retreating British troops beyond the Chindwin river in Burma in May 1942, allegedly because "an invasion was likely to arouse ill-feelings amongst the Indian masses." . . . So the Japanese remained east of the Chindwin river, leaving British Indian forces to build up their strength in the Imphal plain. ³⁹

But above all, in that moment of a golden opportunity, the towering leadership of Netaji, a provisional government, and an Indian national army worthy of its name—all these were non-existent in East Asia. Japan by itself simply lacked the motivation for ex-

tending war into India, let alone think of its independence. The fact remains, however, that the Imphal campaign was indeed first conceived in 1942, right after the conquest of Burma. According to the official history of the British Armed Forces in the Second World War,

Soon after the completion of the Japanese conquest of Burma in June 1942, a certain Lt. Col. Hayashi had advocated an attack on Imphal. He considered that the Japanese should strike against India without giving time to the defenders to recuperate from their disastrous retreat, and Imphal's capture would rob them of the best base for launching a counter-offensive against Burma . . . 18th division argued that the jungles of Burma were impassable for large bodies of operational troops and that any attack on Indian territory would provoke anti-Japanese feelings in India. About December 1942, therefore, the plan was abandoned.⁴⁰

Lieutenant-General Kuroda Shigetoku, Southern Army Chief of Staff, stated later that if the operation had been carried out in 1942 when first conceived, rather than in 1944, it would have succeeded. According to Lebra, "General Tojo stated in the spring of 1945 that he regretted Japan had missed the opportunity in 1942."⁴¹

As the INA and the Japanese forces continued to lay siege on Imphal, the Allied air superiority gained strength and the enemy was preparing for counterattack. Shah Nawaz, commanding two battalions of the Subhas Regiment in the Chin Hills, told of the hardships his men were suffering as a result of disease and of supply and transport difficulties. However, owing to communication problems, the news of difficulties his men were undergoing at the front did not reach Netaji in detail. While there was a stalemate in the front and the offensive came to a halt, there were meetings and jubilations at Rangoon where Netaji collected money and donations in other forms for the conduct of his campaign. He offered to send additional INA regiments to the Front and more troops were despatched. For about a month Operation U went according to plan. Enemy forces were successfully encircled in the Imphal area. Suddenly, in the middle of April, the military balance began to shift against Japan and the INA. Wingate's airborne unit had already been attacking from air over Burma supply routes. British forces were being supplied by airlift into the besieged Imphal, and reinforcements began to flow in. British forces were being sent to Kohima to the north by both rail and air. Japan had no matching air power to strike back at enemy air operations. By the end of April the battle strength of Japanese and INA divisions was decreased forty percent. Time for success by surprise attack had already passed and gradually the offensive turned into a defensive battle. The monsoon that followed, brought the ultimate disaster. As roads became impassable, all

supply routes were cut off. Muddy streams flooded roads and valleys, and rivers swelled to sweep away tanks and ammunition. In the wake of the monsoon, disease became rampant. Cholera, malaria, dysentery, beriberi and jungle sores began to take their toll. The INA and the Japanese started living on rations consisting of rice mixed with jungle grass. The 33rd Division had fought desperately for forty days without being able to penetrate the British lines at Imphal. And now that vast amounts of military supplies were reaching the beleaguered garrison at Imphal, there was virtually no hope for a renewed offensive. On 8 July, on the recommendation of top-ranking Generals including Kawabe and Mutaguchi, Prime Minister Tojo issued the order to halt the operation.

The story of retreat from Imphal is one of the greatest tragedies of World War II. It is a story of misery, hunger and death. Japanese and INA troops, bottled up in the Kawab valley between the Chin Hills in the west and the Chindwin river in the west, began their long trek back through jungles and mountains, headed by division commanders and guards in jeeps and horses. Officers, supply, communication and medical units followed. Behind them marched thousands of stragglers: rain-soaked, emaciated with fever and malnutrition. Soon, corpses began accumulating along the trek, and they had to be left unburied. Of the 220,000 Japanese troops who began the Imphal Campaign, only 130,000 survived, and of these only 70,000 remained at the front to retreat. INA casualties were over fifty percent. It was a disaster equal in magnitude to Dunkirk and Stalingrad. Lebra writes:

When Bose heard the order to retreat he was stunned. He drew himself up and said to Kawabe in ringing tones: "Though the Japanese Army has given up the operation, we will continue it. We will not repent even if the advance of our revolutionary army to attain independence of our homeland is completely defeated. Increase in casualties, cessation of supplies, and famine are not reasons enough to stop marching. Even if the whole army becomes only spirit we will not stop advancing toward our homeland. This is the spirit of our revolutionary army." In an article in *Azad Hind* on 6 November 1944, after the retreat from Imphal, Bose was reported to have "reiterated his firm conviction that final victory in this war would belong to Japan and Germany . . . that a new phase of war was approaching in which the initiative would again lie in the hands of the Japanese." 42

Each Japanese commander gave his own analysis of the causes of the failure of Operation U, like the problem of the chain of command, lack of air power, on dispersal rather than concentration of forces. However, Netaji thought it was timing, with respect to the monsoon. He felt that the only chance to take Imphal was

before the rains came, and most strategists agreed on this point. From the historic perspective, however, Fujiwara perhaps was the most correct. According to him, the Imphal disaster could have been avoided had the operation been undertaken a year earlier, at a time when the British power in the region was weak. The delay in launching the Imphal offensive was no doubt due to Netaji's late arrival from Europe to East Asia. The Imphal campaign should have been undertaken at a time when the Axis victories had reached their zenith and the Allied forces were on retreat everywhere.

During the last three months of 1944, Japanese forces had withdrawn to the banks of the Irrawaddy in Burma, where they intended to make a stand. Netaji enthusiastically offered the reorganized INA First Division, when the Japanese 15th division was ordered to oppose the British. Subsequently, the 2nd Division was also readied for action. In February 1945, the INA held some positions in the region of Mandalay in Burma, giving battle to the advancing enemy. This was the second campaign of Netaji's army, and it held out tenaciously at Nyaungu for some time. However, allied troops later crossed the Irrawaddy at several points and the Japanese and INA units were surrounded. There were some desertions. Despite unique examples of heroism and Netaji's presence in the battlefields, risking his own life in the face of enemy attacks, the second campaign of the INA (which was purely a defensive one) finally had to give way to the gradual reconquest of Burma by the British.

The end of this campaign was followed by a chain of events that included the final Japanese defeat, an alleged plane crash in Formosa in which Netaji reportedly perished, the surrender of the INA to the allied forces and the trial of their leaders at the Red Fort in Delhi, staged by the British. However, all these fateful events, occurring during the final phase of World War II and its aftermath, should be considered parts of an altogether different episode relating to Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army. In the present episode we have examined the historical tasks fulfilled by Netaji and his army in Europe and Asia during World War II, and their significance. In recognition of Netaji's historically significant role as a war leader, Guy Wint pays him a rare tribute with these words: "He played . . . an extraordinarily decisive part. By accident, and by seizing an exceptional opportunity, he was able to cut a figure which made him outstanding among the comparatively small number of men who influenced the course of the war by their individual qualities."⁴³

The Myth of "Freedom through Non-violence under Gandhi's Leadership"

Modern historians in India are taking a second look at the way the country's freedom was achieved, and in that process are demolishing a number of theories, assumptions and myths preached by the "court historians." However, in order to grasp the magnitude of the issue, with its many ramifications, it is essential to understand first the concept of freedom as envisaged by Netaji—the ideal which motivated him to wrest it from the hands of the British by the force of arms. In his entire political career, Subhas Chandra Bose was guided by two cardinal principles in his quest for his country's emancipation: that there could be no compromise with alien colonialists on the issue, and that on no account would the country be partitioned. The Indian geographical unity was to be maintained at all costs.

As we have already seen, the unfortunate turn of events during World War II prevented Netaji's dream of his victorious march to Delhi at the head of his Indian National Army from becoming a reality. In his and his army's absence in a post-war India, politicians under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru did exactly what Netaji never wanted: they negotiated and compromised with the British on the issue of freedom, and in their haste to get into power, agreed to a formula of partitioning India presented to them by the British. The transfer of power was followed by two more developments that were alien to Netaji's philosophy and his blueprint for a free India: introduction of a parliamentary democratic system by Nehru and his decision to keep India in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It was a truncated freedom, achieved over the bloodbath of millions who had perished in fratricidal religious rioting during the process of partition, as the erstwhile India emerged on the world map as the two nations of India and Pakistan. Even so, the fragmented freedom that fell as India's share after the British had skillfully played their age-old game of *divide and rule* came not as a result of Gandhi's civil disobedience and non-violent movement as the court historians would have us believe; nor was it due to persistent negotiations by Nehru and other Indian National Congress leaders on the conference table, which the British found so easy to keep stalling. The British finally quit when they began to feel the foundations of loyalty being shaken among the British Indian soldiers—the mainstay of the colonial power—as a result of the INA exploits that became known to the world after the cessation of hostilities in East Asia.

Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, the eminent Indian historian who passed away recently, and who by virtue of his challenges to several historical myths can rightly be called the Dean of new

historians in India, observed in his book *Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom*:

There is, however, no basis for the claim that the Civil Disobedience Movement directly led to independence. The campaigns of Gandhi . . . came to an ignoble end about fourteen years before India achieved independence . . . During the First World War the Indian revolutionaries sought to take advantage of German help in the shape of war materials to free the country by armed revolt. But the attempt did not succeed. During the Second World War Subhas Bose followed the same method and created the INA. In spite of brilliant planning and initial success, the violent campaigns of Subhas Bose failed . . . The Battles for India's freedom were also being fought against Britain, though indirectly, by Hitler in Europe and Japan in Asia. None of these scored direct success, but few would deny that it was the cumulative effect of all the three that brought freedom to India. In particular, the revelations made by the INA trial, and the reaction it produced in India, made it quite plain to the British, already exhausted by the war, that they could no longer depend upon the loyalty of the sepoys for maintaining their authority in India. This had probably the greatest influence upon their final decision to quit India.⁴⁴

Despite Japan's defeat and the consequent withering away of the Indian National Army on the India-Burma front, both Subhas Chandra Bose and his INA became household names throughout the country as the returning soldiers were sought to be prosecuted by the British. By then, the Congress leadership under Gandhi and Nehru had pre-empted itself, and the year 1945 seemed relatively calm and uneventful. However, Netaji and his legend worked up a movement all over the country which even a Gandhi could never produce. Echoing this mass upsurge Michael Edwardes wrote in his *Last Years of British India*:

The Government of India had hoped, by prosecuting members of the INA, to reinforce the morale of the Indian army. It succeeded only in creating unease, in making the soldiers feel slightly ashamed that they themselves had supported the British. If Bose and his men had been on the right side—and all India now confirmed that they were—then Indians in the Indian army must have been on the wrong side. It slowly dawned upon the Government of India that the backbone of the British rule, the Indian army, might now no longer be trustworthy. The ghost of Subhas Bose, like Hamlet's father, walked the battlements of the Red Fort (where the INA soldiers were being tried), and his suddenly amplified figure overawed the conference that was to lead to independence.⁴⁵

Apart from revisionist historians, it was none other than Lord Clement Atlee himself, the British Prime Minister responsible for conceding independence to India, who gave a shattering blow to the myth sought to be perpetuated by court historians, that Gandhi and his movement had led the country to freedom. Chief

Justice P.B. Chakrabarty of Calcutta High Court, who had also served as the acting Governor of West Bengal in India, disclosed the following in a letter addressed to the publisher of Dr. R.C. Majumdar's book *A History of Bengal*. The Chief Justice wrote:

You have fulfilled a noble task by persuading Dr. Majumdar to write this history of Bengal and publishing it . . . In the preface of the book Dr. Majumdar has written that he could not accept the thesis that Indian independence was brought about solely, or predominantly by the non-violent civil disobedience movement of Gandhi. When I was the acting Governor, Lord Atlee, who had given us independence by withdrawing the British rule from India, spent two days in the Governor's palace at Calcutta during his tour of India. At that time I had a prolonged discussion with him regarding the real factors that had led the British to quit India. My direct question to him was that since Gandhi's "Quit India" movement had tapered off quite some time ago and in 1947 no such new compelling situation had arisen that would necessitate a hasty British departure, why did they have to leave? In his reply Atlee cited several reasons, the principal among them being the erosion of loyalty to the British Crown among the Indian army and navy personnel as a result of the military activities of Netaji. Toward the end of our discussion I asked Atlee what was the extent of Gandhi's influence upon the British decision to quit India. Hearing this question, Atlee's lips became twisted in a sarcastic smile as he slowly chewed out the word, "m-i-n-i-m-a-l!"⁴⁶

When the new version of the history of the Twentieth Century India, and especially the episode of the country's unique struggle for independence comes to be written, it will no doubt single out but one person who made the most significant and outstanding contribution among all his compatriots toward the emancipation of his motherland from the shackles of an alien bondage. During World War II this man strode across two continents like a colossus, and the footsteps of his army of liberation reverberated through the forests and plains of Europe and the jungles and mountians of Asia. His armed assaults shook the very foundations of the British Empire. His name was Subhas Chandra Bose.

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Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS

LEON DEGRELLE

(Presented at the IHR's 1982 Revisionist Conference)

Introduction

You are about to hear Leon Degrelle, who before the Second World War was Europe's youngest political leader and the founder of the Rexist Party of Belgium. During that cataclysmic confrontation he was one of the greatest heroes on the Eastern Front. Of Leon Degrelle Hitler said: "If I should have a son I would like him to be like Leon."

As a statesman and a soldier he has known very closely Hitler, Mussolini, Churchill, Franco, Laval, Marshal Petain and all the European leaders during the enormous ideological and military clash that was World War Two. Alone among them, he has survived, remaining the number one witness of that historical period.

The life of Leon Degrelle began in 1906 in Bouillon, a small town in the Belgian Ardennes. His family was of French origin.

He studied at the University of Louvain, where he acquired a doctorate in law. He was—and is—also interested in other academic disciplines, such as political science, art, archeology and Thomistic philosophy.

As a student his natural gift of leadership became apparent. By the time he reached twenty he had already published five books and operated his own weekly newspaper. Out of his deep Christian conviction he joined Belgium's Catholic Action Movement and became one of its leaders.

But his passion has always been people.

He wanted to win the crowds, particularly the Marxist ones. He wanted them to share his ideals of social and spiritual change for society. He wanted to lift people up; to forge for them a stable, efficient and responsible state, a state backed by the good sense of people and for the sole benefit of the people.

He addressed more than 2,000 meetings, always controversial. His books and newspaper were read everywhere because they always dealt with the real issues. Although not yet twenty-five, people listened to him avidly.

In a few short years he had won over a large part of the population. On the twenty-fourth of May 1936 his Rexist Party won against the established parties a smashing electoral victory: Thirty-four house and senate seats.

The Europe of 1936 was still split into little countries, jealous of their pasts and closed to any contact with their neighbors.

Leon Degrelle saw further. In his student days he had traveled across Latin America, the United States and Canada. He had visited North Africa, the Middle East and of course all of the European countries. He felt that Europe had a unique destiny and must unite.

Mussolini invited him to Rome. Churchill saw him in London and Hitler received him in Berlin.

Putting his political life on the line, he made desperate efforts to stop the railroading of Europe into another war. But old rivalries, petty hatreds and suspicion between the French and the German, were cleverly exploited. The established parties and the Communist Party worked on the same side: for war. For the Kremlin it was a unique opportunity to communize Europe after it had been bled white.

Thus, war started. First in Poland, then in Western Europe in 1940. This was to become the Second World War in 1941.

Soon the flag of the Swastika flew from the North Pole to the shores of Greece to the border of Spain.

But the European civil war between England and Germany continued. And the rulers of Communism got ready to move in and pick up the pieces.

But Hitler beat them to it and invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. For Europe it was to be heads or tails; Hitlers wins or Stalin wins.

It was then that from every country in Europe thousands of young men made up their minds that the destiny of their native country was at stake. They would volunteer their lives to fight communism and create a united Europe.

In all, they would grow to be more than 600,000 non-German Europeans fighting on the Eastern Front. They would bring scores of divisions to the Waffen SS.

The Waffen SS were ideological and military shock troops of Europe. The Germans, numbering 400,000, were actually in the minority.

The one million-strong Waffen SS represented the first truly European army to ever exist.

After the war each unit of this army was to provide their people with a political structure free of the petty nationalism of the past. All the SS fought the same struggle. All shared the same world view. All became comrades in arms.

The most important political and military phenomenon of World War Two is also the least known: the phenomenon of the Waffen SS.

Leon Degrelle is one of the most famous Waffen SS soldiers. After joining as a private he earned all stripes from corporal to general for exceptional bravery in combat. He engaged in seventy-five hand-to-hand combat actions. He was wounded on numerous occasions. He was the recipient of the highest honors: The Ritterkreuz, the Oak-Leaves, the Gold German Cross and numerous other decorations for outstanding valor under enemy fire.

One of the last to fight on the Eastern Front, Leon Degrelle escaped unconditional surrender by flying some 1500 miles across Europe toward Spain. He managed to survive constant fire all along the way and crash landed on the beach of San Sebastian in Spain, critically wounded.

Against all odds he survived. Slowly he managed to re-build a new life in exile for himself and his family.

For Degrelle philosophy and politics cannot exist without historical knowledge. For him beauty enhances people and people cannot improve their lives without it.

This philosophy is reflected in everything he does. In his Spanish home art blends gracefully with history.

The work of Leon Degrelle has always been epic and poetic. As he walks in the environment of his home one feels the greatness of Rome with its marbles, its bronzes, its translucent glass; one feels the elegant Arabian architecture, the gravity of the Gothic form and the sumptuousness of Renaissance and Baroque art. One feels the glory of his flags.

In this atmosphere of beauty and greatness, the last and most important living witness of World War Two awaits you. Ladies and Gentlemen: General Leon Degrelle.

The Degrelle Lecture

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am asked to talk to you about the great unknown of World War Two: the Waffen SS.

It is somewhat amazing that the organization which was both political and military and which during World War Two united more than one million fighting volunteers, should still be officially ignored.

Why?

Why is it that the official record still virtually ignores this extraordinary army of volunteers? An army which was at the vortex of the most gigantic struggle, affecting the entire world.

The answer may well be found in the fact that the most striking feature of the Waffen SS was that it was composed of volunteers from some thirty different countries.

What cause gathered them and why did they volunteer their lives?

Was it a German phenomenon?

At the beginning, yes.

Initially, the Waffen SS amounted to less than two hundred members. It grew consistently until 1940 when it evolved into a second phase: the Germanic Waffen SS. In addition to Germans from Germany, northwestern Europeans and descendants of Germans from all across Europe enlisted.

Then, in 1941 during the great clash with the Soviet Union, rose the European Waffen SS. Young men from the most distant countries fought together on the Russian front.

No one knew anything about the Waffen SS for most of the years preceding the war. The Germans themselves took some time to recognize the distinctiveness of the Waffen SS.

Hitler rose to the chancellorship democratically, winning at the ballot box. He ran electoral campaigns like any other politician. He addressed meetings, advertised on billboards, his message attracted capacity audiences. More and more people liked what he had to say and more and more people voted members of his party into congress. Hitler did not come to power by force but was duly elected by the people and duly installed as Chancellor by the President of Germany, General von Hindenburg. His government was legitimate and democratic. In fact, only two of his followers were included in the Cabinet.

Later he succeeded always through the electoral process in increasing his majority. When some elections gave him up to 90% of the vote, Hitler earned every vote on his own merit.

During his campaigns Hitler faced formidable enemies: the power establishment who had no qualms whatsoever in tampering with the electoral process. He had to face the Weimar establishment and its well-financed left-wing and liberal parties and highly organized bloc of six million Communist Party members. Only the most fearless and relentless struggle to convince people to vote for him, enabled Hitler to obtain a democratic majority.

In those days the Waffen SS was not even a factor. There was, of course, the SA with some three million men. They were rank and file members of the National Socialist Workers Party but certainly not an army.

Their main function was to protect party candidates from Communist violence. And the violence was murderous indeed: more than five hundred National Socialists were murdered by the communists. Thousands were grievously injured.

The SA was a volunteer, non-government organization and as soon as Hitler rose to power he could no longer avail himself of its help.

He had to work within the system he was elected to serve.

He came in a state of disadvantage. He had to contend with an entrenched bureaucracy appointed by the old regime. In fact, when the war started in 1939, 70% of German bureaucrats had been appointed by the old regime and did not belong to Hitler's party. Hitler could not count on the support of the Church hierarchy. Both big business and the Communist Party were totally hostile to his programs. On top of all this, extreme poverty existed and six million workers were unemployed. No country in Europe had ever known so many people to be out of work.

So here is a man quite isolated. The three million SA party members are not in the government. They vote and help win the elections but they cannot supplant the entrenched bureaucracy in the government posts. The SA also was unable to exert influence on the army, because the top brass, fearful of competition, was hostile to the SA.

This hostility reached such a point that Hitler was faced with a wrenching dilemma. What to do with the millions of followers who helped him to power? He could not abandon them.

The army was a highly organized power structure. Although only numbering 100,000 as dictated by the Treaty of Versailles it exerted great influence in the affairs of state. The President of Germany was Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The army was a privileged caste. Almost all the officers belonged to the upper classes of society.

It was impossible for Hitler to take on the powerful army frontally. Hitler was elected democratically and he could not do what Stalin did: to have firing squads execute the entire military establishment. Stalin killed thirty thousand high ranking officers. That was Stalin's way to make room for his own trusted commissars.

Such drastic methods could not occur in Germany and unlike Stalin, Hitler was surrounded by international enemies.

His election had provoked international rage. He had gone to the voters directly without the intermediary of the establishment parties. His party platform included an appeal for racial purity in

Germany as well as a return of power to the people. Such tenets so infuriated world Jewry that in 1933 it officially declared war on Germany.

Contrary to what one is told Hitler had limited power and was quite alone. How this man ever survived these early years defy comprehension. Only the fact that Hitler was an exceptional genius explains his survival against all odds. Abroad and at home Hitler had to bend over backwards just to demonstrate his good will.

But despite all his efforts Hitler was gradually being driven into a corner. The feud between the SA and the army was coming to a head. His old comrade, Ernst Roehm, Chief of the SA wanted to follow Stalin's example and physically eliminate the army brass. The showdown resulted in the death of Roehm, either by suicide or murder, and many of his assistants, with the army picking up the pieces and putting the SA back in its place.

At this time the only SS to be found in Germany were in Chancellor Hitler's personal guard: one hundred eighty men in all. They were young men of exceptional qualities but without any political role. Their duties consisted of guarding the Chancellery and presenting arms to visiting dignitaries.

It was from this minuscule group of 180 men that a few years later would spring an army of a million soldiers. An army of unprecedented valor extending its call throughout Europe.

After Hitler was compelled to acknowledge the superiority of the army he realized that the brass would never support his revolutionary social programs. It was an army of aristocrats.

Hitler was a man of the people, a man who succeeded in wiping out unemployment, a feat unsurpassed to this day. Within two years he gave work to six million Germans and got rid of rampant poverty. In five years the German worker doubled his income without inflation. Hundreds of thousands of beautiful homes were built for workers at a minimal cost. Each home had a garden to grow flowers and vegetables. All the factories were provided with sport fields, swimming pools and attractive and decent workshops.

For the first time paid vacations were created. The communists and capitalists had never offered paid vacations; this was Hitler's creation. He organized the famous "strength through joy" programs which meant that workers could, at affordable prices, board passenger ships and visit any part of the world.

All these social improvements did not please the establishment. Big business tycoons and international bankers were worried. But Hitler stood up to them. Business can make profits but only if people are paid decently and are allowed to live and work in dignity. People, not profits, come first.

This was only one of Hitler's reforms. He initiated hundreds of others. He literally rebuilt Germany. In a few years more than five thousand miles of freeways were built. For the worker the affordable Volkswagen was created. Any worker could get this car on a payment of five marks a week. It was unprecedented in Europe. Thanks to the freeways the worker for the first time could visit any part of Germany whenever they liked. The same programs applied to the farmers and middle class.

Hitler realized that if his social reforms were to proceed free of sabotage he needed a powerful lever, a lever that commanded respect.

Hitler still did not confront the army but skillfully started to build up the SS. He desperately needed the SS because above all Hitler was a political man; to him war was the last resort. His aim was to convince people, to obtain their loyalty, particularly the younger generation. He knew that the establishment-minded brass would oppose him at every turn.

And he was right. Through the high ranking officers the establishment plotted the overthrow of the democratically elected Hitler government. Known as the Munich Plot, the conspirators were detected in time. That was in 1938.

On 20 July 1944, Hitler almost lost his life when aristocratic officers planted a time bomb underneath his desk.

In order not to alert the army Hitler enlarged the SS into a force responsible for law and order. There was of course a German police force but there again Hitler was unsure of their loyalty. The 150,000 police were appointed by the Weimar regime. Hitler needed the SS not only to detect plots but mostly to protect his reforms. As his initial *Leibstandarte* unit of 180 grew, other regiments were found such as the *Deutschland* and the *Germania*.

The army brass did everything to prevent SS recruitment. Hitler bypassed the obstacles by having the interior minister and not the war ministry do the recruiting.

The army countered by discouraging the recruitment of men between the ages of 18 and 45. On the ground of national defense, privates were ordered to serve four years, non-commissioned officers twelve and officers twenty-five years.

Such orders, it was thought, would stop SS recruitment dead in its tracks. The reverse happened. Thousands of young men rushed to apply, despite the lengthy service, more than could be accepted.

The young felt the SS was the only armed force which represented their own ideas.

The new formations of young SS captivated public imagination. Clad in smart black uniforms the SS attracted more and more young men.

It took two years from 1933 to 1935 and a constant battle of wits with the army to raise a force of 8,000 SS.

At the time the name Waffen SS did not even exist. It was not until 1940, after the French campaign, that the SS will be officially named "Waffen SS." In 1935 they were called just SS. However, 8,000 SS did not go far in a country of 80 million people. And Hitler had yet to devise another way to get around the army. He created the *Totenkopf* guard corps. They were really SS in disguise but their official function was to guard the concentration camps.

What were these concentration camps?

They were just work camps where intractable communists were put to work. They were well treated because it was thought they would be converted sooner or later to patriotism. There were two concentration camps with a total of three thousand men. Three thousand out of a total of six million card-carrying members of the Communist Party. That represents one per two thousand. Right until the war there were fewer than ten thousand inmates.

So the *Totenkopf* ploy produced four regiments. At the right moment they will join the SS. The *Totenkopf* kept a low profile through an elaborate system of recruiting reserves in order to keep its strength inconspicuous.

At the beginning of the war the *Totenkopf* numbered 40,000 men. They will be sent to 163 separate units. Meanwhile the initial *Leibstandarte* regiment reached 2800 and a fourth regiment was formed in Vienna at the time of the Anschluss.

The young men who joined the SS were trained like no other army in the world. Military and academic instruction were intensive, but it was the physical training that was the most rigorous. They practice sports with excellence. Each of them would have performed with distinction at the Olympic games. The extraordinary physical endurance of the SS on the Russian front, which so amazed the world, was due to this intensive training.

There was also the ideological training. They were taught why they were fighting, what kind of Germany was being resurrected before their very eyes. They were shown how Germany was being morally united through class reconciliation and physically united through the return of the lost German homelands. They were made aware of their kinship with all the other Germans living in foreign lands, in Poland, Russia, the Sudetenland and other parts of Europe. They were taught that all Germans represented an ethnic unity.

Young SS were educated in two military academies, one in Bad Toelz the other in Braunschweig. These academies were totally different from the grim barracks of the past. Combining aesthetics with the latest technology they were located in the middle of hundreds of acres of beautiful country.

Hitler was opposed to any war, particularly in Western Europe. He did not even conceive that the SS could participate in such a war. Above all the SS was a political force. Hitler regarded Western countries as individual cultures which could be federated but certainly not conquered. He felt a conflict within the West would be a no-win civil war.

Hitler's conception of Europe then was far ahead of his neighbours. The mentality of 1914-1918, when small countries fought other small countries over bits of real estate, still prevailed in the Europe of 1939. Not so in the case of the Soviet Union where internationalism replaced nationalism. The communists never aimed at serving the interests of Russia. Communism does not limit itself to acquire chunks of territories but aims at total world domination.

This is a dramatically new factor. This policy of world conquest is still being carried out today whether in Viet Nam, Afghanistan, Africa or Poland. At the time it was an entirely new concept. Alone among all the leaders of the world Hitler saw this concept as an equal threat to all nations.

Hitler recalled vividly the havoc the communists unleashed in Germany at the end of World War One. Particularly in Berlin and Bavaria the Communists under foreign orders organized a state within a state and almost took over. For Hitler, everything pointed East. The threat was Communism.

Apart from his lack of interest in subjugating Western Europe, Hitler was well aware he could not wage war on two fronts.

At this point instead of letting Hitler fight Communism the Allies made the fateful decision to attack Hitler.

The so-called Western Democracies allied themselves with the Soviet Union for the purpose of encircling and destroying the democratic government of Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles had already amputated Germany from all sides. It was designed to keep Germany in a state of permanent economic collapse and military impotence. The Allies had ratified a string of treaties with Belgium, the newly created Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Rumania to pressure Germany from all sides.

Now in the summer of 1939 the governments of Britain and France were secretly negotiating a full military alliance with the Soviet Union. The talks were held in Moscow and the minutes were signed by Marshal Zhukov.

I have these minutes in my possession. They are stupefying. One can read a report guaranteeing Britain and France of Soviet participation against Germany. Upon ratification the Soviet Union was to provide the Anglo-French forces with the Soviet support of 5500 combat planes immediately plus the back up of the entire Soviet air force. Between 9,000 to 10,000 tanks would

also be made available. In return, the Soviet Union demanded the Baltic states and free access to Poland. The plan called for an early joint attack.

Germany was still minimally armed at that stage. The French negotiators realized that the 10,000 Soviet tanks would soon destroy the 2000 German tanks but did not see that they would be unlikely to stop at the French border. Likewise the British government was quite prepared to let the Soviets take over Europe.

Facing total encirclement Hitler decided once more to make his own peace with one or the other side of the Soviet-British partnership.

He turned to the British and French governments and requested formal peace talks. His quest for peace was answered by an outpouring of insults and denunciations. The international press went on an orgy of hate against Hitler unprecedented in history. It is mind-boggling to re-read these newspapers today.

When Hitler made similar peace overtures to Moscow he was surprised to find the Soviets eager to sign a peace treaty with Germany. In fact, Stalin did not sign a peace treaty for the purpose of peace. He signed to let Europe destroy itself in a war of attrition while giving him the time he needed to build up his military strength.

Stalin's real intent is revealed in the minutes of the Soviet High Command, also in my possession. Stalin states his intent to come into the war the moment Hitler and the Western powers have annihilated each other. Stalin had great interest in marking time and letting others fight first. I have read his military plans and I have seen how they were achieved. By 1941 Stalin's ten thousand tanks had increased to 17,999, the next year they would have been 32,000, ten times more than Germany's. The air force would also have been 10 to 1 in Stalin's favor.

The very week Stalin signed the peace treaty with Hitler he gave orders to build 96 air fields on the Western Soviet border, 180 were planned for the following year. His strategy was constant: "The more the Western powers fight it out the weaker they will be. The longer I wait the stronger I get." It was under these appalling circumstances that World War Two started. A war which was offered to the Soviets on a silver platter.

Aware of Stalin's preparations Hitler knew he would have to face communism sooner rather than later. And to fight communism he had to rely on totally loyal men, men who would fight for an ideology against another ideology. It had always been Hitler's policy to oppose the ideology of class war with an ideology of class cooperation.

Hitler had observed that Marxist class war had not brought prosperity to the Russian people. Russian workers were poorly clothed, as they are now, badly housed, badly fed. Goods are

always in short supply and to this day, housing in Moscow is as nightmarish as it was before the war. For Hitler the failure of class war made class cooperation the only just alternative. To make it work Hitler saw to it that one class would not be allowed to abuse the other.

It is a fact that the newly rich classes emerging from the industrial revolution had enormously abused their privileges and it was for this reason that the National Socialists were socialists.

National Socialism was a popular movement in the truest sense. The great majority of National Socialists were blue collars. 70% of the Hitler Youth were children of blue collar workers. Hitler won the elections because the great mass of workers were solidly behind him. One often wonders why six million communists who had voted against Hitler, turned their back on Communism after Hitler had been elected in 1933. There is only one reason: they witnessed and experienced the benefits of class cooperation. Some say they were forced to change; it is not true. Like other loyal Germans they fought four years on the Russian Front with distinction.

The workers never abandoned Hitler, but the upper classes did. Hitler spelled out his formula of class cooperation as the answer to communism with these words: "Class cooperation means that capitalists will never again treat the workers as mere economic components. Money is but one part of our economic life, the workers are more than machines to whom one throws a pay packet every week. The real wealth of Germany is its workers."

Hitler replaced gold with work as the foundation of his economy. National Socialism was the exact opposite of Communism. Extraordinary achievements followed Hitler's election.

We always hear about Hitler and the camps, Hitler and the Jews, but we never hear about his immense social work. If so much hatred was generated against Hitler by the international bankers and the servile press it was because of his social work. It is obvious that a genuine popular movement like National Socialism was going to collide with the selfish interest of high finance. Hitler made clear that the control of money did not convey the right of rapacious exploitation of an entire country because there are also people living in the country, millions of them, and these people have the right to live with dignity and without want. What Hitler said and practised had won over the German youth. It was this social revolution that the SS felt compelled to spread throughout Germany and defend with their lives if need be.

The 1939 war in Western Europe defied all reason. It was a civil war among those who should have been united. It was a monstrous stupidity.

The young SS were trained to lead the new National Socialist revolution. In five or ten years they were to replace all those who had been put in office by the former regime.

But at the beginning of the war it was not possible for these young men to stay home. Like the other young men in the country they had to defend their country and they had to defend it better than the others.

The war turned the SS from a home political force to a national army fighting abroad and then to a supranational army.

We are now at the beginning of the war in Poland with its far reaching consequences. Could the war have been avoided? Emphatically yes! Even after it had moved into Poland.

The Danzig conflict was inconsequential. The Treaty of Versailles had separated the German city of Danzig from Germany and given it to Poland against the wish of its citizens.

This action was so outrageous that it had been condemned all over the world. A large section of Germany was sliced through the middle. To go from Western Prussia to Eastern Prussia one had to travel in a sealed train through Polish territory. The citizens of Danzig had voted 99% to have their city returned to Germany. Their right of self-determination had been consistently ignored.

However, the war in Poland started for reasons other than Danzig's self-determination or even Poland's.

Poland just a few months before had attacked Czechoslovakia at the same time Hitler had returned the Sudetenland to Germany. The Poles were ready to work with Hitler. If Poland turned against Germany it is because the British government did everything in its power to poison German-Polish relations.

Why?

Much has to do with a longstanding inferiority complex British rulers have felt towards Europe. This complex has manifested itself in the British Establishment's obsession in keeping Europe weak through wars and dissension.

At the time the British Empire controlled 500 million human beings outside of Europe but somehow it was more preoccupied with its traditional hobby: sowing dissension in Europe. This policy of never allowing the emergence of a strong European country has been the British Establishment's *modus operandi* for centuries.

Whether it was Charles the Fifth of Spain, Louis the Fourteenth or Napolean of France or William the Second of Germany, the British Establishment never tolerated any unifying power in Europe. Germany never wanted to meddle in British affairs. However, the British Establishment always made it a point to meddle in European affairs, particularly in Central Europe and the Balkans.

Hitler's entry into Prague brought the British running to the fray. Prague and Bohemia had been part of Germany for centuries and always within the German sphere of influence. British meddling in this area was totally unjustified.

For Germany the Prague regime represented a grave threat. Benes, Stalin's servile Czech satrap, had been ordered by his Kremlin masters to open his borders to the Communist armies at a moment's notice. Prague was to be the Soviet springboard to Germany.

For Hitler, Prague was a watchtower to central Europe and an advance post to delay a Soviet invasion. There were also Prague's historical economic links with Germany. Germany has always had economic links with Central Europe. Rumania, the Balkans, Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia have had longstanding complimentary economies with Germany which have functioned to this day.

Hitler's European economic policy was based on common sense and realism. And it was Hitler's emerging Central European Common Market rather than concern for Czech freedom that the British Establishment could not tolerate.

Yet English people felt great admiration for Hitler. I remember when Lloyd George addressed the German press outside Hitler's home, where he had just been a guest. He stated: "You can thank God you have such a wonderful man as your leader!" Lloyd George, the enemy of Germany during World War One, said that!

King Edward the Eighth of England who had just abdicated and was now the Duke of Windsor also came to see Hitler at his Berchtesgaden home, accompanied by his wife, who incidentally had been used to force his abdication. Whey they returned the Duke sent a wire to Hitler. It read: "What a wonderful day we have spent with your Excellency. Unforgettable!" The Duke reflected what many English people knew, remarking on: "how well off the German workers were." The Duke was telling the truth. The German worker earned twice as much, without inflation, as he did before Hitler and consequently his standard of living was high.

Even Churchill, the most fanatic German-hater of them all, had in 1938, a year before the war, sent a letter to Hitler in which he wrote: "If ever Great Britain was plunged into a disaster comparable to the one that afflicted Germany in 1918 I would ask God that He should send us a man with the strength and the character of your Excellency."

The London Times reported this extraordinary statement.

Friend or foe, all acknowledge that Hitler was a man of exceptional genius. His achievements were the envy of the world. In five short years he rebuilt a bankrupt nation burdened with millions of unemployed into the strongest economic power in Europe. It was so strong that the small country that was Germany was unable to withstand a war against the whole world for six years.

Churchill acknowledged that no one in the world could match such a feat. He stated just before the war: "there is no doubt we

can work out a peace formula with Hitler." But Churchill received other instructions. The Establishment, fearful that Hitler's successes in Germany could spread to other countries, was determined to destroy him. It created hatred against Germany across Europe by stirring old grievances. It also exploited the envy some Europeans felt toward Germany.

The Germans' high birth rate had made Germany the most populous country in Western Europe. In science and technology Germany was ahead of both France and Britain. Hitler had built Germany into an economic powerhouse. That was Hitler's crime and the British Establishment opted to destroy Hitler and Germany by any means.

The British manipulated the Polish government against Germany. The Poles themselves were more than willing to live in peace with the Germans. Instead, the unfortunate Poles were railroaded into war by the British. One must not forget that one and a half million Germans lived in Poland at the time, at great benefit to the Polish economy. Apart from economic ties with Germany, the Poles saw a chance that with Germany's help they would be able to recover their Polish territories from the Soviet Union, territories they had tried to recover in vain since 1919.

In January 1939 Hitler had proposed to Beck, the Polish leader, a compromise to solve the Danzig issue: The Danziger's vote to return to Germany would be honored and Poland would continue to have free port access and facilities, guaranteed by treaty.

The prevailing notion of the day that every country must have a sea port really does not make sense. Switzerland, Hungary and other countries with no sea ports manage quite well. Hitler's proposals were based on the principles of self-determination and reciprocity. Even Churchill admitted that such a solution could dispose of the Danzig problem. This admission, however, did not prevent him to sent an ultimatum to Germany: withdrawal from Poland or war. The world has recently seen what happened when Israel invaded Lebanon. Heavily populated cities like Tyre and Sidon were destroyed and so was West Beirut. Everybody called for Israel's withdrawal but no one declared war on Israel when it refused to budge.

With a little patience a peaceful solution would have been found Danzig. Instead, the international press unleashed a massive campaign of outright lies and distortions against Hitler. His proposals were willfully misrepresented by a relentless press onslaught.

Of all the crimes of World War Two, one never hears about the wholesale massacres that occurred in Poland just before the war. I have detailed reports in my files documenting the mass slaughter of defenseless Germans in Poland.

Thousands of German men, women and children were massacred in the most horrendous fashion by Press-enraged mobs. The photographs of these massacres are too sickening to look at! Hitler decided to halt the slaughter and he rushed to the rescue.

The Polish campaign showed Hitler to be a military genius. History had already started to recognize this most startling of Hitler's characteristics: his rare military genius. All the successful military campaigns of the Third Reich were thought out and directed by Hitler personally, not the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Hitler inspired a number of generals who became his most able executives in later campaigns.

In regard to the Polish campaign the General Staff had planned an offensive along the Baltic coastline in order to take Danzig, a plan logically doomed to failure. Instead, Hitler invented the Blitzkrieg or lightning war and in no time captured Warsaw. The Waffen SS appeared on the Polish Front and its performance amazed the world.

The second campaign in France was also swift and humane. The British-French forces had rushed to Holland and Belgium to check the German advance, but they were outwitted and outflanked in Sedan. It was all over in a matter of days.

The story goes that Hitler had nothing to do with this operation; that it was all the work of General von Manstein. That is entirely false. Marshall von Manstein had indeed conceived the idea but when he submitted it to the Joint Chiefs of Staff he was reprimanded, demoted and retired to Dresden. The General Staff had not brought this particular incident to Hitler's attention. On his own, Hitler ran a campaign along the same lines and routed the British-French forces. It was not until March 1940 that von Manstein came into contact with Hitler.

Hitler also planned the Balkan and Russian campaigns. On the rare occasions where Hitler allowed the General Staff to have their way, such as in Kursk, the battle was lost.

In the 1939 polish campaign Hitler did not rely on military textbook theories devised fifty years ago, as advocated by the General Staff, but on his own plan of swift, pincer-like encirclement. In eight days the Polish war was won and over in spite of the fact that Poland is as large as France.

The eight day campaign saw three SS regiments in action: The Leibstandarte, the Deutschland and the Germania. There was also an SS motorbike battalion, a corps of engineers and a transmission unit. In all it was a comprehensive but small force of 25,000 men.

Sepp Dietrich and his Leibstandarte alone had, after bolting out of Silesia, split Poland in half within days. With less than 3,000 men he had defeated a Polish force of 15,000 and taken 10,000 prisoners. Such victories were not achieved without loss.

It is hard to imagine that from a total of one million SS, 352,000 were killed in action with 50,000 more missing. It is a grim figure! Four hundred thousand of the finest young men in Europe! Without hesitation they sacrificed themselves for their beliefs. They knew they had to give an example. They were the first on the front line as a way to defend their country and their ideals.

In victory or defeat the Waffen SS always sought to be the best representatives of their people.

The SS was a democratic expression of power: people gathering of their own free will.

The consent of the ballot box is not only this; there is consent of the heart and the mind of men. In action, the Waffen SS made a plebiscite: that the German people should be proud of them, should give them their respect and their love. Such high motivation made the volunteers of the Waffen SS the best fighters in the world.

The SS had proved themselves in action. They were not empty talking politicians, but they gave their lives, the first to go and fight in an extraordinary spurt of comradeship. This comradeship was one of the most distinctive characteristics of the SS: the SS leader was the comrade of the others.

It was on the front lines that the results of the SS physical training could really be noticed. An SS officer had the same rigorous training as the soldiers. Those officers and privates competed in the same sports events, and only the best man won, regardless of rank. This created a real brotherhood which literally energized the entire Waffen SS. Only the teamwork of free men, bonded by a higher ideal could unite Europe. Look at the Common Market of today. It is a failure. There is no unifying ideal. Everything is based on haggling over the price of tomatoes, steel, coal, or booze. Fruitful unions are based on something a little higher than that.

The relationship of equality and mutual respect between soldiers and officers was always present. Half of all division commanders were killed in action. Half! There is not an army in the world where this happened. The SS officer always led his troops to battle. I was engaged in seventy-five hand-to-hand combats because as an SS officer I had to be the first to meet the enemy. SS soldiers were not sent to slaughter by behind-the-line officers, they followed their officers with passionate loyalty. Every SS commander knew and taught all his men, and often received unexpected answers.

After breaking out of Tcherkassy's siege I talked with all my soldiers one-by-one, there were thousands at the time. For two weeks every day from dawn to dusk, I asked them questions, and heard their replies. Sometimes it happens that some soldiers who brag a little, receive medals, while others—heroes—who keep

quiet, miss out. I talked to all of them because I wanted to know first-hand what happened, and what they had done. To be just I had to know the truth.

It was on this occasion that two of my soldiers suddenly pulled their identity cards from the Belgian Resistance Movement. They had been sent to kill me. At the front line, it is very simple to shoot someone in the back. But the extraordinary SS team spirit had won them over. SS officers could expect loyalty of their men by their example.

The life expectancy of an SS officer at the front was three months. In Estonia I received ten new young officers from Bad Toelz academy one Monday; by Thursday, one was left and he was wounded.

In the conventional armies, officers talked at the men, from superior to inferior, and seldom as brothers in combat and brothers in ideology.

Thus, by 1939, the Waffen SS had earned general admiration and respect. This gave Hitler the opportunity to call for an increase in their numbers. Instead of regiments, there would be three divisions.

Again, the Army brass laid down draconian recruiting conditions: SS could only join for not less than four years of combat duty. The brass felt no one would take such a risk. Again, they guessed wrong. In the month of February 1940 alone, 49,000 joined the SS. From 25,000 in September 1939 there would be 150,000 in May 1940.

Thus, from 180 to 8,000 to 25,000 to 150,000 and eventually one million men, all this against all odds.

Hitler had no interest whatever in getting involved with the war in France, a war forced on him.

The 150,000 SS had to serve under the Army, and they were given the most dangerous and difficult missions. Despite the fact that they were provided with inferior hand-arms and equipment. They had no tanks. In 1940 the Leibstandarte was provided with a few scouting tanks. The SS were given wheels and that's all. But with trucks, motorbikes and varied limited means they were able to perform amazing feats.

The Leibstandarte and Der Fuehrer regiments were sent to Holland under the Leadership of Sepp Dietrich. They had to cross Dutch waterways. The Luftwaffe had dropped parachutists to hold the bridges 120 miles deep in Dutch territory, and it was vital for the SS to reach these bridges with the greatest speed.

The Leibstandarte would realize an unprecedented feat in ten days: to advance 120 miles in one day. It was unheard of at the time, and the world was staggered. At that rate German troops would reach Spain in one week. In one day the SS had crossed all the Dutch canals on flimsy rubber rafts. Here again, SS losses

were heavy. But, thanks to their heroism and speed, the German Army reached Rotterdam in three days. The parachutists all risked being wiped out had the SS not accomplished their lightning-thrust.

In Belgium, the SS regiment *Der Fuehrer* faced head on the French Army, which after falling in the Sedan trap, had rushed toward Breda, Holland. There, one would see for the first time a small motivated army route a large national army. It took one SS regiment and a number of German troops to throw the whole French Army off balance and drive it back from Breda to Antwerp, Belgium and Northern France.

The *Leibstandarte* and *Der Fuehrer* regiments jointly advanced on the large Zealand Islands, between the Escaut and Rhine rivers. In a few days they would be under control.

In no time the *Leibstandarte* had then crossed Belgium and Northern France. The second major battle of SS regiments occurs in concert with the Army tank division. The SS, still with their tanks, are under the command of General Rommel and General Guderian. They spearhead a thrust toward the North Sea.

Sepp Dietrich and his troops have now crossed the French canals, but are pinned down by the enemy in a mud field, and just manage to avoid extermination. But despite the loss of many soldiers, officers and one battalion commander, all killed in action, the Germans reach Dunkirk.

Hitler is very proud of them.

The following week, Hitler deploys them along the Somme River, from which they will pour out across France. There again, the SS will prove itself to be the best fighting force in the world. Sepp Dietrich and the 2nd Division of the SS, *Totenkopf*, advance so far so fast they even lose contact with the rest of the Army for three days.

They found themselves in Lyon, France, a city they had to leave after the French-German peace treaty.

Sepp Dietrich and a handful of SS on trucks had achieved the impossible.

Der Fuehrer SS division spearheaded the Maginot Line breakthrough. Everyone had said the Line was impenetrable. The war in France was over. Hitler had the three SS divisions march through Paris. Berlin honored the heroes also. But the Army was so jealous that it would not cite a single SS for valor or bravery. It was Hitler himself who in front of the German congress solemnly paid tribute to the heroism of the SS. It was on this occasion that Hitler officially recognized the name of the Waffen SS.

But it was more than just a name-change. The Waffen SS became *Germanic*, as volunteers were accepted from all Germanic countries. The SS had found out by themselves that the people of Western Europe were closely related to them: the

Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Flemish—all belonged to the same Germanic family. These Germanic people were themselves very much impressed by the SS, and so, by the way, were the French.

The people of Western Europe had marvelled at this extraordinary German force with a style unlike any others: if two SS scouts would reach town ahead of everybody else, on motorbikes, before presenting themselves to the local authorities they would first clean themselves up so as to be of impeccable appearance. The people could not help but be impressed.

The admiration felt by young Europeans of Germanic stock for the SS was very natural. Thousands of young men from Norway, Denmark, Flanders, and Holland were awed with surprise and admiration. They felt irresistably drawn to the SS. It was not Europe, but their own Germanic race that so deeply stirred their souls. They identified with the victorious Germans. To them, Hitler was the most exceptional man ever seen. Hitler understood them, and had the remarkable idea to open the doors of the SS to them. It was quite risky. No one had ever thought of this before. Prior to Hitler, German imperialism consisted only of peddling goods to other countries, without any thought of creating an ideology called "community"—a common ideal with its neighbors.

Suddenly, instead of peddling and haggling, here was a man who offered a glorious ideal: an enthralling social justice, for which they all had yearned in vain, for years. A broad New Order, instead of the formless cosmopolitanism of the pre-war so-called "democracies." The response to Hitler's offer was overwhelming. Legions from Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Flanders were formed. Thousands of young men now wore the SS uniform. Hitler created specifically for them the famous Viking division. One destined to become one of the most formidable divisions of the Waffen SS.

The Army was still doing everything to stop men from joining the SS in Germany, and acted as though the SS did not exist. Against this background of obstructionism at home, it was normal and understandable that the SS would welcome men from outside Germany.

The Germans living abroad provided a rich source of volunteers. As there are millions of German-Americans, there are millions of Germans in all parts of Europe—in Hungary, in Rumania, in Russia. There was even a Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans. These were the descendants of Germans who had emigrated two centuries before. Other Europeans, like the French Huguenots, who went to Prussia, also shared this type of emigration with the Germans. So, Europe was dotted with German settlements. The victories of the Third Reich had made them

proud of belonging to the German family. Hitler welcomed them home. He saw them, first, as a source of elite SS men, and also as an important factor in unifying all Germans ideologically.

Here again, the enthusiastic response was amazing. 300,000 volunteers of German ancestry would join, from all over Europe. 54,000 from Rumania alone. In the context of that era, these were remarkable figures. There were numerous problems to overcome. For instance, most of the Germanic volunteers no longer spoke German. Their families had settled in foreign lands for 200 years or so. In Spain, for instance, I can see the children of my legionaries being assimilated with the Spaniards—and their grandchildren no longer speak French. The Germans follow the same pattern. When the German volunteers first arrived at the SS, they spoke many different languages, had different ways and different needs.

How to find officers who could speak all these languages? How to coordinate such a disparate lot? The mastery of these problems was the miracle of the Waffen SS assimilation program. This homecoming of the separated "tribes" was seen by the Waffen SS as the foundation for real European unity. The 300,000 Germanic volunteers were welcomed by the SS as brothers, and they reciprocated by being as dedicated, loyal and heroic as the German SS.

Within the year, everything had changed for the Waffen SS. The barracks were full, the academies were full. The strictest admission standards and requirements equally applied for the Germanic volunteers. They had to be the best in every way, both physically and mentally. They had to be the best of the Germanic race.

German racialism has been deliberately distorted. It never was an anti—"other race" racialism. It was a pro-German racialism. It was concerned with making the German race strong and healthy in every way. Hitler was not interested in having millions of degenerates, if it was in his power not to have them. Today one finds rampant alcohol and drug addiction everywhere. Hitler cared that the German families be healthy, cared that they raise healthy children for the renewal of a healthy nation. German racialism meant re-discovering the creative values of their own race, re-discovering their culture. It was a search for excellence, a noble idea. National Socialist racialism was not against the other races, it was for its own race. It aimed at defending and improving its race, and wished that all other races did the same for themselves.

That was demonstrated when the Waffen SS enlarged its ranks to include 60,000 Islamic SS. The Waffen SS respected their way of life, their customs, and their religious beliefs. Each Islamic SS battalion had an *imam*, each company had a *mullah*. It was our

common wish that their qualities found their highest expression. This was our racialism. I was present when each of my Islamic comrades received a personal gift from Hitler during the new year. It was a pendant with a small Koran. Hitler was honoring them with this small symbolic gift. He was honoring them with what was the most important aspect of their lives and their history. National Socialist racialism was loyal to the German race and totally respected all other races.

At this point, one hears: "What about the anti-Jewish racism?" One can answer: "What about Jewish anti-Gentilism?"

It has been the misfortune of the Jewish race that never could they get on with any other race. It is an unusual historical fact and phenomenon. When one studies the history—and I say this without any passion—of the Jewish people, their evolution across the centuries, one observes that always, at all times, and at all places, they were hated. They were hated in ancient Egypt, they were hated in ancient Greece, they were hated in Roman times to such a degree that 3,000 of them were deported to Sardinia. It was the first Jewish deportation. They were hated in Spain, in France, in England (they were banned from England for centuries), and in Germany. The conscientious Jewish author Lazare wrote a very interesting book on Anti-Semitism, where he asked himself: "We Jews should ask ourselves a question: why are we always hated everywhere? It is not because of our persecutors, all of different times and places. It is because there is something within us that is very unlikeable." What is unlikeable is that the Jews have always wanted to live as a privileged class divinely-chosen and beyond scrutiny. This attitude has made them unlikeable everywhere. The Jewish race is therefore a unique case. Hitler had no intention of destroying it. He wanted the Jews to find their own identity in their own environment, but not to the detriment of others. The fight—if we can call it that—of National Socialism against the Jews was purely limited to one objective: that the Jews leave Germany in peace. It was planned to give them a country of their own, outside Germany. Madagascar was contemplated, but the plans were dropped when the United States entered the war. In the meanwhile, Hitler thought of letting the Jews live in their own traditional ghettos. They would have their own organizations, they would run their own affairs and live the way they wanted to live. They had their own police, their own tramways, their own flag, their own factories which, incidentally, were built by the German government. As far as other races were concerned, they were all welcomed in Germany as guests, but not as privileged occupants.

In one year the Waffen SS had gathered a large number of Germanic people from Northern Europe and hundreds of thousands of Germans from outside Germany, the Volksdeutsche, or

Germanic SS. It was then that the conflict between Communism and National Socialism burst into the open. The conflict had always existed. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had clearly set out his objective: "to eliminate the world threat of Communism," and incidentally claim some land in Eastern Europe! This eastward expansionism created much outrage: How could the Germans claim land in Russia? To this one can answer: How could the Americans claim Indian land from the Atlantic to the Pacific? How could France claim Southern Flanders and Rousillon from Spain? And what of Britain, and what of so many other countries who have claimed, conquered and settled in other territories? Somehow at the time it was all right for all these countries to settle foreign lands but it was not for Germany. Personally, I have always vigorously defended the Russians, and I finally did succeed in convincing Hitler that Germans had to live with Russians as partners not as conquerors. Before achieving this partnership, there was first the matter of wiping out Communism. During the Soviet-German Pact, Hitler was trying to gain time but the Soviets were intensifying their acts of aggression from Estonia to Bukovina. I now read extracts from Soviet documents. They are most revealing. Let's read from Marshal Voroshilov himself:

We now have the time to prepare ourselves to be the executioner of the capitalist world while it is agonizing. We must, however, be cautious. The Germans must not have any inkling that we are preparing to stab them in the back while they are busy fighting the French. Otherwise, they could change their general plan, and attack us.

In the same record, Marshal Chopo-nitov wrote: "The coexistence between Hitler's Germany and the Soviet Union is only temporary. We will not make it last very long." Marshal Timoshenko, for his part, did not want to be so hasty: "Let us not forget that our war material from our Siberian factories will not be delivered until Fall." This was written at the beginning of 1941, and the material was only to be delivered in the Fall. The war industry Commissariat Report stated: We will not be in full production until 1942. Marshal Zhukov made this extraordinary admission: "Hitler is in a hurry to invade us; he has good reasons for it."

Indeed, Hitler had good reasons to invade Russia in a hurry because he realized he would be wiped out if he did not. Zhukov added: "We need a few more months to rectify many of our defects before the end of 1941. We need 18 months to complete the modernization of our forces."

The orders are quite precise. At the fourth session of the Supreme Soviet in 1939, it is decreed that Army officers will serve three years and the soldiers will serve four years, and the Navy personnel, five years. All these decisions were made less than a month after the Soviets signed the peace treaty with Germany.

Thus the Soviets, pledged to peace, were frantically preparing for war. More than 2,500 new concrete fortifications were built between 1939 and 1940. 160 divisions were made combat-ready. 60 tank divisions were on full alert. The Germans only had 10 panzer tank divisions. In 1941, the Soviets had 17,000 tanks, and by 1942 they had 32,000. They had 92,578 pieces of artillery. And their 17,545 combat planes in 1940 outnumbered the German air force.

It is easy to understand that with such war preparations going on, Hitler was left with only one option: Invade the Soviet Union immediately, or face annihilation.

Hitler's Russian campaign was the "last chance" campaign. Hitler did not go into Russia with any great optimism. He told me later on: "When I entered Russia, I was like a man facing a shut door. I knew I had to crash through it, but without knowing what was behind it." Hitler was right. He knew the Soviets were strong, but above all he knew they were going to be a lot stronger. 1941 was the only time Hitler had some respite. The British had not succeeded yet in expanding the war. Hitler, who never wanted the war with Britain, still tried for peace. He invited me to spend a week at his home. He wanted to discuss the whole situation and hear what I had to say about it. He spoke very simply and clearly. The atmosphere was informal and relaxed. He made you feel at home because he really enjoyed being hospitable. He buttered pieces of toast in a leisurely fashion, and passed them around, and although he did not drink he went to get a bottle of champagne after each meal because he knew I enjoyed a glass at the end of it. All without fuss and with genuine friendliness. It was part of his genius that he was also a man of simple ways without the slightest affection and a man of great humility. We talked about England. I asked him bluntly: "Why on earth didn't you finish the British off in Dunkirk? Everyone knew you could have wiped them out." He answered: "Yes, I withheld my troops and let the British escape back to England. The humiliation of such a defeat would have made it difficult to try for peace with them afterwards."

At the same time, Hitler told me he did not want to dispell the Soviet belief that he was going to invade England. He mentioned that he even had small Anglo-German dictionaries distributed to his troops in Poland. The Soviet spies there duly reported to the Kremlin that Germany's presence in Poland was a bluff and that they were about to leave for the British Isles.

On 22 June 1941, it was Russia and not England that Germany invaded. The initial victories were swift but costly. I lived the epic struggle of the Russian Front. It was a tragic epic; it was also martyrdom. The endless thousands of miles of the Russian steppes were overwhelming. We had to reach the Caucasus by

foot, always under extreme conditions. In the summer we often walked knee-deep in mud, and in winter there were below-zero freezing temperatures. But for a matter of a few days Hitler would have won the war in Russia in 1941. Before the battle of Moscow, Hitler had succeeded in defeating the Soviet Army, and taking considerable numbers of prisoners.

General Guderian's tank division, which had all by itself encircled more than a million Soviet troops near Kiev, had reached Moscow right up to the city's tramway lines. It was then that suddenly an unbelievable freeze happened: 40, 42, 50 degrees celsius below zero! This meant that not only were men freezing, but the equipment was also freezing, on the spot. No tanks could move. Yesterday's mud had frozen to a solid block of ice, half a meter high, icing up the tank treads.

In 24 hours all of our tactical options had been reversed. It was at that time that masses of Siberian troops brought back from the Russian Far East were thrown against the Germans. These few fateful days of ice that made the difference between victory and defeat, Hitler owed to the Italian campaign in Greece during the fall of 1940.

Mussolini was envious of Hitler's successes. It was a deep and silent jealousy. I was a friend of Mussolini, I knew him well. He was a remarkable man, but Europe was not of great concern to him. He did not like to be a spectator, watching Hitler winning everywhere. He felt compelled to do something himself, fast. Impulsively, he launched a senseless offensive against Greece.

His troops were immediately defeated. But it gave the British the excuse to invade Greece, which up till now had been uninvolved in the war. From Greece the British could bomb the Rumanian oil wells, which were vital to Germany's war effort. Greece could also be used to cut off the German troops on their way to Russia. Hitler was forced to quash the threat pre-emptively. He had to waste five weeks in the Balkans. His victories there were an incredible logistical achievement, but they delayed the start of the Russian campaign for five critical weeks.

If Hitler had been able to start the campaign in time, as it was planned, he would have entered Moscow five weeks before, in the sun of early fall, when the earth was still dry. The war would have been over, and the Soviet Union would have been a thing of the past. The combination of the sudden freeze and the arrival of fresh Siberian troops spread panic among some of the old Army generals. They wanted to retreat to 200 miles from Moscow. It is hard to imagine such inane strategy! The freeze affected Russia equally, from West to East, and to retreat 200 miles in the open steppes would only make things worse. I was commanding my troops in the Ukraine at the time and it was 42 degrees centigrade below zero.

Such a retreat meant abandoning all the heavy artillery, including assault tanks and panzers that were stuck in the ice. It also meant exposing half a million men to heavy Soviet sniping. In fact, it meant condemning them to certain death. One need only recall Napolean's retreat in October. He reached the Berzina River in November, and by December 6th all the French troops had left Russia. It was cold enough, but it was not a winter campaign.

Can you just imagine in 1941 half a million Germans fighting howling snowstorms, cut off from supplies, attacked from all sides by tens of thousands of Cossaks? I have faced charging Cossaks, and only the utmost superior firepower will stop them. In order to counter such an insane retreat, Hitler had to fire more than 30 generals within a few days.

It was then that he called on the Waffen SS to fill in the gap and boost morale. Immediately the SS held fast on the Moscow front. Right through the war the Waffen SS never retreated. They would rather die than retreat. One cannot forget the figures. During the 1941 winter, the Waffen SS lost 43,000 men in front of Moscow. The regiment *Der Fuehrer* fought almost literally to the last man. Only 35 men survived out of the entire regiment. The *Der Fuehrer* men stood fast and no Soviet troops got through. They had to try to bypass the SS in the snow. This is how famous Russian General Vlasov was captured by the Totenkopf SS division. Without their heroism, Germany would have been annihilated by December 1941.

Hitler would never forget it: he gauged the willpower that the Waffen SS had displayed in front of Moscow. They had shown character and guts. And that is what Hitler admired most of all: guts. For him, it was not enough to have intelligent or clever associates. These people can often fall to pieces, as we will see during the following winter at the battle of Stalingrad with General Paulus.

Hitler knew that only sheer energy and guts, the refusal to surrender, the will to hang tough against all odds, would win the war.

The blizzards of the Russian steppes had shown how the best army in the world, the German Army, with thousands of highly trained officers and millions of highly disciplined men, was just not enough. Hitler realized they would be beaten, that something else was needed, and that only the unshakable faith in a high ideal could overcome the situation. The Waffen SS had this ideal, and Hitler used them from now on at full capacity.

From all parts of Europe volunteers rushed to help their German brothers. It was then that was born the third great Waffen SS. First there was the German, then the Germanic, and now there was the European Waffen SS. 125,000 would then volunteer

to save Western Culture and Civilization. The volunteers joined with full knowledge that the SS incurred the highest death tolls. More than 250,000 out of one million would die in action. For them, the Waffen SS was, despite all the deaths, the birth of Europe. Napolean said in St. Helena: "There will be no Europe until a leader arises."

The young European volunteers have observed two things: first, that Hitler was the only leader who was capable of building Europe and secondly that Hitler, and Hitler alone could defeat the world threat of Communism.

For the European SS the Europe of petty jealousies, jingoism, border disputes, economic rivalries was of no interest. It was too petty and demeaning; that Europe was no longer valid for them. At the same time the European SS, as much as they admired Hitler and the German people, did not want to become Germans. They were men of their own people and Europe was the gathering of the various people of Europe. European unity was to be achieved through harmony, not domination of one over the others.

I discussed these issues at length with both Hitler and Himmler. Hitler like all men of genius had outgrown the national stage. Napoleon was first a Corsican, then a Frenchman, then a European and then a singularly universal man. Likewise Hitler had been an Austrian, then a German, then a greater German, then Germanic, then he had seen and grasped the magnitude of building Europe.

After the defeat of Communism the Waffen SS had a solemn duty to gather all their efforts and strength to build a united Europe, and there was no question that non-German Europe should be dominated by Germany.

Before joining the Waffen SS we had known very difficult conflicts. We had gone to the Eastern front first as adjunct units to the German army but during the battle of Stalingrad we had seen that Europe was critically endangered. Great common effort was imperative. One night I had an 8 hour debate with Hitler and Himmler on the status of non-German Europeans within the new Europe.

For the present we expected to be treated as equals fighting for a common cause. Hitler understood fully and from then on we had our own flag, our own officers, our own language, our own religion. We had total equal status.

I was the first one to have Catholic padres in the Waffen SS. Later padres of all denominations were available to all those who wanted them. The Islamic SS division had their own mullahs and the French even had a bishop! We were satisfied that with Hitler, Europeans would be federated as equals. We felt that the best way to deserve our place as equals was in this critical hour to defend Europe equally well as our German comrades.

What mattered above all for Hitler was courage. He created a new chivalry. Those who earn the order of the Ritterkreuz, meaning the cross of the knights, were indeed the new knights. They earned this nobility of courage. Each of our units going home after the war would be the force that would protect the peoples' rights in our respective countries. All the SS understood that European unity meant the whole of Europe, even Russia.

There had been a great lack of knowledge among many Germans regarding the Russians. Many believed that the Russians were all Communists while in fact, Russian representation in the Communist hierarchy was less than insignificant. They also believed that the Russians were diametrically opposite from the Europeans. Yet they have similar familial structures, they have an old civilization, deep religious faith and traditions which are not unlike those of other European countries.

The European SS saw the new Europe in the form of three great components; central Europe as the power house of Europe, western Europe as the cultural heart of Europe and eastern Europe as the potential of Europe. Thus the Europe the SS envisioned was alive and real. Its six hundred million inhabitants would live from the North Sea to Vladivostok. It was in this span of 8,000 miles that Europe could achieve its destiny. A space for young people to start new lives. This Europe would be the beacon of the world. A remarkable racial ensemble. An ancient civilization, a spiritual force and the most advanced technological and scientific complex. The SS prepared for the high destiny of Europe.

Compare these aims, these ideals with the "Allies." The Roosevelt's, the Churchills sold Europe out in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. They cravenly capitulated to the Soviets. They delivered half of the European continent to Communist slavery. They let the rest of Europe disintegrate morally, without any ideal to sustain it. The SS knew what they wanted: the Europe of ideals was salvation for all.

This faith in higher ideals inspired four hundred thousand German SS, three hundred thousand Volksdeutsche or Germanic SS and three hundred thousand other European SS. Volunteers all, one million builders of Europe.

The ranks of the SS grew proportionately with the growth of the war in Russia. The nearer Germany was to defeat the more volunteers arrived at the front. This was phenomenal; eight days before the final defeat I saw hundreds of young men join the SS on the front. Right to the end they knew they had to do the impossible to stop the enemy.

So from the one hundred and eighty-men strong *Leibstandarte* in 1933 to the SS regiments before 1939, to the three regiments in Poland, to the three divisions in France, to the six divisions at the beginning of the Russian war, to the 38 divisions in 1944, the

Waffen SS reached 50 divisions in 1945. The more SS died, the more others rushed to replace them. They had faith and stood firm to the extreme limit. The exact reverse happened in January 1943 at Stalingrad. The defeat there was decided by a man without courage. He was not capable of facing danger with determination, of saying unequivocally: I will not surrender, I will stand fast until I win. He was morally and physically gutless and he lost.

A year later the SS Viking and the SS Wallonia divisions were encircled in the same way at Cherkassy. With the disaster of Stalingrad fresh in the minds of our soldiers they could have been subject to demoralization. On top of it I was laid down with a deep sidewound and 102 degree temperature. As general in command of the SS Wallonia forces I knew that all this was not conducive to high morale. I got up and for 17 days I led charge after charge to break the blockade, engaged in numerous hand-to-hand combats, was wounded four times but never stopped fighting. All my men did just as much and more. The siege was broken by sheer SS guts and spirit.

After Stalingrad, when many thought that all was lost, when the Soviet forces poured across the Ukraine, the Waffen SS stopped the Soviets dead in their tracks. They re-took Charkov and inflicted a severe defeat on the Soviet army. This was a pattern; the SS would over and over turn reverses into victories.

The same fearless energy was also present in Normandy. Gen. Patton called them "the proud SS divisions."

The SS was the backbone of resistance in Normandy. Eisenhower observed "the SS fought as usual to the last man."

If the Waffen SS had not existed, Europe would have been overrun entirely by the Soviets by 1944. They would have reached Paris long before the Americans. The Waffen SS heroism stopped the Soviet juggernaut at Moscow, Cherkov, Cherkassy, and Tarnopol. The Soviets lost more than 12 months. Without SS resistance the Soviets would have been in Normandy before Eisenhower. The people showed deep gratitude to the young men who sacrificed their lives. Not since the great religious orders of the middle ages had there been such selfless idealism and heroism. In this century of materialism, the SS stand out as a shining light of spirituality.

I have no doubt whatever that the sacrifices and incredible feats of the Waffen SS will have their own epic poets like Schiller. Greatness in adversity is the distinction of the SS.

The curtain of silence fell on the Waffen SS after the war but now more and more young people somehow know of its existence, of its achievements. The fame is growing and the young demand to know more. In one hundred years almost everything will be forgotten but the greatness and the heroism of the Waffen SS will be remembered. It is the reward of an epic.

Book Review

A LEGACY OF HATE: ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA, by Ernest Volkman, Franklin Watts, 358pp, \$16.95, ISBN 0-531-09863X

"Some people go around smelling after anti-Semitism all the time," wrote George Orwell in a letter to a friend. Orwell then opined that, "More rubbish is written about this subject than any other I can think of." Ernest Volkman is a "prize-winning journalist" who has dedicated himself to proving the aptness of Orwell's remarks. For some time, he has gone around smelling after anti-Semitism, and he has written a load of rubbish about it.

This load of rubbish, titled *A Legacy of Hate: Anti-Semitism in America*, purports to be "a study of the more modern forms of anti-Semitism in this country, the one place in the world where this ancient disease should not have happened, and where it should not be happening." But what it is, primarily, is an exercise in fear-mongering, an attempt to conjure up the spectre of calamity for American Jews as a possible consequence of a supposed new outbreak of anti-Semitism. And, secondarily, the book is an exercise in smear-mongering, in which numerous individuals, groups, movements and institutions are tarred with Volkman's mile-wide brush of anti-Semitism.

Volkman's main theme, not exactly an original one, is that "there is a new anti-Semitism afoot." But this "new anti-Semitism" is a strange beast. As Volkman puts it, "There are expressions of anti-Semitism, but paradoxically, they are not expressed out of hatred, but because of something even more hateful: simple ignorance." But, as Volkman also says,

Anti-Semitism, then, is hatred of the Jews as a people. It should be distinguished from anti-Jewish feelings. People who do not like Jews for one reason or another are not necessarily anti-Semites; there is no compelling reason for Jews to be universally liked, any more than Americans, Chinese, Catholics or Buddhists are to be universally liked. Voltaire, that great humanist, plainly did not like Jews (he regarded them as odd and superstitious), but took pains to note that he thought burning Jews at the stake was uncalled for. Anti-Semites, however, progress over that critical step beyond dislike to pathology, hating Jews for being Jews. (p10)

If anti-Semitism is "hatred of the Jews as a people," then there can be no "expressions of anti-Semitism" that "are not expressed out of hatred." Thus, Volkman's "new anti-Semitism" is not anti-Semitism at all. Volkman attempts to pass his self-contradiction off as a "paradox." Rather, it is an example of his inability, or unwillingness, to think straight. (He has a similar problem with getting his facts straight, but more on that anon.)

As I've said, Volkman's main theme is the rise of a "new anti-Semitism." There are two varieties of this "new anti-Semitism:" "indifferent anti-Semitism" and "casual anti-Semitism." The first of these is the subject of a chapter titled "A Callous Indifference." Volkman probably took this title from a phrase used in a 1974 book titled, coincidentally, *The New Anti-Semitism*, an opus perpetrated by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, who Alfred Lilienthal has aptly dubbed the high priests of the "Anti-Defamation" League's cult of anti-anti-Semitism. Here is the context in which Forster and Epstein used the phrase:

This book represents an attempt to survey the American domestic and world scenes and properly indentify the current sources, modes and extent of anti-Jewish behavior. The task will involve, necessarily, some re-defining of traditional notions of anti-Semitism and serious reorientation of long-held convictions about the nature of its sources. But more important, we propose to examine as well behavior that can only be properly defined as an insensitivity to these problems rather than anti-Semitic either by the definitions that have existed or by new and more inclusive descriptions. It includes, often, a callous indifference to Jewish concerns expressed by respectable institutions and persons here and abroad—people who would be shocked to think themselves, or have others think them, anti-Semites. (p5)

Forster and Epstein did not go so far as to include "a callous indifference to Jewish concerns" within their new (and improved?) definition of "anti-Semitism." But, in a case of the student surpassing the teacher, Volkman has done just that. With Volkman, "a callous indifference to Jewish concerns" becomes one of the two varieties of "the new anti-Semitism." This is progress indeed. I can hardly wait for the day to arrive when this ever-expanding concept of "anti-Semitism" will have come to encompass everything under the sun.

In the meantime, Volkman has sniffed out numerous instances of "a callous indifference." The Reagan administration, it seems, was guilty of "a callous indifference" in nominating Warren Richardson to the post of assistant secretary for legislation of the Department of Health and Human Services, because Richardson, from 1969 to 1973, had been general counsel and chief lobbyist for Liberty Lobby, "one of the more notorious anti-Semitic organizations in the country." Volkman rhetorically asks, "[H]ow was it

possible for an administration to nominate for a high-ranking domestic policy post, a man who at the very least had served an avowedly anti-Semitic organization?" But, elsewhere in the book, he mentions Liberty Lobby's "recent assertion that it is 'not anti-Semitic, only anti-Zionist.' " Thus, Liberty Lobby is not an avowedly anti-Semitic organization, and Volkman knows it.

In any case, it was Richardson who was nominated, not the Liberty Lobby. And, even assuming the Liberty Lobby is anti-Semitic, that does not necessarily mean that Richardson is anti-Semitic (unless, of course, one believes in guilt by association), and Volkman's evidence of Richardson's alleged anti-Semitism is tenuous at best. It consists of two items: (1) an article by Richardson critical of American Middle East policy which concluded, "Liberty Lobby will not tag along with the cowards who would rather countenance another national disaster than brave the screams of the pro-Zionist 'free press' in America," and (2) a joint interview Richardson gave with Curtis Dall, then head of the Libery Lobby, in 1970, during which Richardson referred to "the international money order." But, if this is enough to convict a man of anti-Semitism, then my name is Isadore Lipschitz. The article on Middle East policy, even assuming Richardson wrote the above-quoted conclusion, which he denies, is evidence only of anti-Zionism, not anti-Semitism. Volkman treats anti-Zionism as a manifestation of "the new anti-Semitism," but, as I've already pointed out, "the new anti-Semitism" is not anti-Semitism. As for Richardson's reference to "the international money order," taken out of context it is not proof of much of anything (what did Richardson say about "the international money order?"), let alone proof of anti-Semitism. Volkman claims that the phrase is "an old right-wing code word for Jews, by which is meant 'international Jewish money.'" Of course, one can convict a person of anything by putting the necessary incriminating words in their mouth. But Robert Anton Wilson, in an interview given to *Conspiracy Digest* and reprinted in his book *The Illuminati Papers*, makes some relevant comments about a similar matter:

... it has been impossible to talk about bankers' conspiracies since the 1930s without most of your audience thinking you are a Nazi or, or least, an anti-Semite. This is what is called a conditioned association, or uncritical inference, and, however illogical it is, it is very widespread. I've been attacking the bankers since about 1962, and I never stop getting mail from two groups of idiots: Jewish idiots who think I'm secretly an anti-Semite, and are angry at me for it; and anti-Semitic idiots who also think I'm a secret anti-Semite, and are glad to welcome me to their loathsome club.

I don't know if Volkman is a Jewish idiot, but he is, in any case, an anti-anti-Semitic idiot.

Most of Volkman's examples of "callous indifference" are episodes in which the U.S. government has failed to act as a running dog lackey of the Zionist State of Israel. He is willing to go to ridiculous lengths to condemn the Carter administration for insufficient zeal in defending Israel. During the Carter administration, says Volkman, "the Americans sat on their hands while a series of events took place that should have aroused the strongest U.S. protest." Such as? One such "incident took place at the June 1980 meeting of the Organization of African Unity, when Israel was referred to in the group's official documents merely as 'the Zionist entity.'" Oh, dear! How horrendous! But, pray tell, why should the U.S. government jump up and down, pull out its hair and scream "No! No! No!" because some other governments refer to Israel as "the Zionist entity?"

According to Volkman, the second variety of "the new anti-Semitism" is what he calls "casual anti-Semitism." Let's see how he derives this pseudo-concept. He begins by noting that the results of recent public opinion surveys suggest that anti-Semitism is declining. But, he asks,

if anti-Semitism is supposedly disappearing, why are there so many instances of open expression of anti-Semitism? Because it is what we might call casual anti-Semitism, a new form that is most often expressed by people who claim no animosity toward Jews. For the most part they're telling the truth; whether they are making such statements in the name of "truth" or "objectivity" or "realism" or "historical fact," they very seldom have malicious intent. (pp82-83)

Thus spake Volkman. But, irony of ironies, Volkman's own words can be quoted to question the meaningfulness of this pseudo-concept of "casual anti-Semitism." In a chapter on the history of anti-Semitism in America, Volkman reports that historian Oscar Handlin "went so far as to claim that anti-Semitism in this country did not really begin until the early part of this century, and that any anti-Semitic incidents before then were 'without malicious intent,' (whatever that means)." But, if, as Volkman is snidely suggesting, it is meaningless for Handlin to write about anti-Semitic incidents "without malicious intent," then it is likewise meaningless for Volkman to write about expressions of anti-Semitism by people who "very seldom have malicious intent." Nevertheless, Volkman devotes an entire chapter of this book to doing just that.

Volkman says that "casual anti-Semitism is expressed out of ignorance or because there is simply no awareness that such a statement might be considered in the least anti-Semitic." So "casual anti-Semitism" is, in some cases, expressed out of ignorance. But Volkman's prime example of "casual anti-Semitism" is revi-

sionism regarding "the Holocaust," a subject about which his own ignorance is such that he is obviously incompetent to judge anyone else's knowledgeability about the subject. As for Volkman's statement that "casual anti-Semitism" is sometimes expressed "because there is simply no awareness that such a statement might be considered in the least anti-Semitic," this seems to imply that it is "casual anti-Semitism" to make any statement that "might be considered" anti-Semitic. But, with anti-anti-Semitic bloodhounds like Volkman on the prowl, any statement that is in the least critical of Israel, Zionism, Organized Jewry, the American Jewish Lobby, "Holocaust" historiography, individual Jews, etc., might be considered anti-Semitic whether or not it really is. In effect, Volkman is saying: Keep your mouth shut. Don't you dare criticize Israel, Zionism, Organized Jewry, the American Jewish Lobby, "Holocaust" historiography, individuals Jews, etc., or he'll accuse you of "casual anti-Semitism." What Volkman is trying to pull is a variation of what the late novelist-philosopher Ayn Rand called "The Argument from Intimidation," which, as she explained,

is not an argument, but a means of forestalling debate and extorting an opponent's agreement with one's undiscussed notions. It is a method of by-passing logic by means of psychological pressure.

... the psychological pressure method consists of threatening to impeach an opponent's character by means of his argument, thus impeaching the argument without debate.

The essential characteristic of the Argument from Intimidation is its appeal to moral self-doubt and its reliance on the fear, guilt or ignorance of the victim. It is used in the form of an ultimatum demanding that the victim renounce a given idea without discussion, under threat of being considered morally unworthy. The pattern is always: "Only those who are evil (dishonest, heartless, insensitive, ignorant, etc.) can hold such an idea."

In Volkman's case, the "Argument from Intimidation" takes this form: Only those who are anti-Semitic, at least, "casually" so, can hold such an idea. Rand observed that, "The Argument from Intimidation is a confession of intellectual impotence." Volkman's performance confirms that.

As I've said, Volkman's primary example of "casual anti-Semitism" is "Holocaust Revisionism," or, as he puts it, "the disturbing attempt to disprove one of the touchstones of modern Jewry, the Holocaust." True to the method of "the Argument from Intimidation," Volkman makes no attempt to come to grips with and rebut the arguments of the "Holocaust Revisionists." Instead, he labels (libels?) "Holocaust Revisionism" as "casual anti-Semitism" and then presents an incredibly distorted, error-ridden version of the history of "Holocaust Revisionism," throwing in

some choice invective along the way ("insanity," "hopelessly muddleheaded," "this poison," "evil works," etc.).

According to Volkman, Paul Rassinier "had been imprisoned at Buchenwald, an experience which somehow led him to conclude that no atrocities went on in Nazi concentration camps, and if any Jews were killed, they were murdered by Jewish Kapos (camp trustees)." But, in fact, Rassinier, who was imprisoned at Buchenwald, never asserted that no atrocities went on in the Nazi concentration camps. And if one consults Lucy Dawidowicz's "Lies About the Holocaust," *Commentary*, December, 1980, which is Volkman's source of information about Rassinier, one finds a rather different, and more accurate, characterization of what Rassinier concluded. As Dawidowicz puts it, Rassinier concluded that "the atrocities committed in the Nazi camps had been greatly exaggerated by the survivors." Volkman has somehow managed to get the facts wrong, even though his source got them right. This is a prize-winning journalist? In any case, Volkman is also wrong in claiming Rassinier concluded that "if any Jews were killed, they were murdered by Jewish Kapos (camp trustees)." This is, in fact, a distortion of something Rassinier wrote about Buchenwald. (See *Debunking the Genocide Myth*, p127.)

The S.S. no longer had any need to hit men, since those to whom they delegated their power did the hitting better; nor to steal, since their minions stole better and the benefits were the same; nor to kill slowly to make order respected, because others did that for them, and order in the camp was all the more perfect for it.

As you can see, Rassinier did not specify Jewish prisoners or Jewish Kapos. Volkman, has once again managed to get the facts wrong. But this time he did so by accurately repeating an inaccurate statement by Lucy Dawidowicz.

According to Volkman, Arthur Butz, in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, "included what he considered to be incontrovertible evidence that all the Jews who were supposed to have died [during "the Holocaust"] were in fact still alive, carefully hidden from view." That Butz did not assert this can be verified by consulting page 239 of his book, where he states that, "The Jews of Europe suffered during the war by being deported to the East, by having had much of their property confiscated and, more importantly, by suffering cruelly in the circumstances surrounding Germany's defeat. They may even have lost a million dead." This is another instance in which Volkman got his facts wrong by parroting Lucy Dawidowicz. Of course, he might have avoided this error if he had taken the trouble to read the Butz book rather than relying on a second-hand description from a biased, hostile source. But no-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o! Not this prize-winning journalist.

Not this self-righteous hypocrite, who even has the *chutzpah* to condemn Northwestern University for defending Butz's academic freedom, because—now get this—"it did not seem to occur to Northwestern that equally cherished standards of academia were being trampled in the process, including truth, research and facts." "Truth, research and facts?" Let's examine some further evidences of Volkman's concern for "truth, research and facts."

According to Volkman, "Anne Frank died in the Nazi gas chambers for the crime of being Jewish . . ." But Ernst Schnabel, who researched the fate of Anne Frank for his book, *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, found that she and her family were deported to Auschwitz, from which she and her sister were transferred to Belsen, where they both died of typhus. Schnabel's findings about Anne Frank's fate are summarized in the commonly-available paperback editions of what purports to be her diary. Volkman says that the diary "remains one of the great documents of humanity." But has he actually read it?

Concluding a plea for more extensive treatment of Jewish history, and especially "the Holocaust," in high-school and college textbooks, in order to eradicate the "appalling ignorance" about such matters, Volkman invokes "the memory of the famous historian Simon Dubonow [sic] who, as the Nazis took him from the Riga ghetto in 1941 to be gassed at Buchenwald, called out: 'Brothers! Write down everything you see and hear. Keep a record of it all!'"

Volkman cites *The Holocaust and the Historians* by Lucy Dawidowicz as his source of information about Dubnow. But here is Dawidowicz's version of this incident:

In December 1941, when the German police entered the Riga Ghetto to round up the old and sick Jews, Simon Dubnow, the venerable Jewish historian, was said to have called out as he was being taken away: "Brothers, write down everything you see and hear. Keep a record of it all. (p125)

Notice that Volkman took the liberty of adding two exclamation points to the Dubnow quotation. Notice also that in Dawidowicz's version Dubnow "was said to have called out," but in Volkman's version Dubnow "called out." But, most importantly, notice that Dawidowicz said nothing about Dubnow being taken "to be gassed at Buchenwald." So why, then, does Volkman say Dubnow was taken "to be gassed at Buchenwald," where there never was a gas chamber? The explanation undoubtedly lies in Volkman's dedication to "truth, research and facts."

Volkman's dedication to "truth, research and facts" also shows up in his handling of a speech made by Charles Lindbergh on 11 September 1941, in which Lindbergh, an opponent of Amer-

ican intervention in the war in Europe, said, "The three most important groups who have been pressing this country toward war are the British, the Jewish, and the Roosevelt administration." Volkman responds that "many influential Jews were in fact isolationists," even though Volkman's source, *The Warhawks*, by Mark Lincoln Chadwin, concedes that "many influential Jews were interventionists." (Italics in original.) Volkman is so concerned about "truth, research and facts," that he substitutes the word "isolationists" for "interventionists" to create a non-fact with which to rebut Lindbergh.

Volkman's concern for "truth, research and facts" is manifest throughout *A Legacy of Hate*, and there are many examples of that concern that I will not mention specifically. Suffice it to say that Volkman's dedication to "truth, research and facts" is such that one should never take his word for anything.

In his search for anti-Semitism, Volkman covers a lot of ground, and the list of those he indicts on this charge is a long one. The culprits include: George Ball (the advocate of a tougher U.S. policy with respect to Israel and critic of the American Jewish lobby who, interestingly enough, works for the investment banking house of Lehman Brothers, Kuhn Loeb), Paul McCloskey, James Abourezk, both *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, the Hilton hotel chain, the *Sixty Minutes* television program, David Irving, Truman Capote, Vanessa Redgrave, Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, Jerry Falwell, the National Council of Churches, Daniel Berrigan, Mobil Oil and—hold onto your hats—the Anne Frank Foundation!

Volkman discusses anti-Zionism in a chapter titled "Anti-Zionism: The Easy Disguise." Here he dogmatically spouts the Zionist line and makes unsubstantiated, inaccurate generalizations about anti-Zionism and anti-Zionists. According to Volkman, "a reading of the vast literature produced by anti-Zionists is persuasive that anti-Zionism is certainly motivated by anti-Semitism, and there is not much point in trying to claim (as many do) that anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are two very different things." But if Volkman has actually read "the vast literature produced by anti-Zionists," then I'll eat my yarmulka. None of this literature is included in Volkman's bibliography and there is nothing in his text to indicate any familiarity with it. If Volkman had read the anti-Zionist literature, he might have known that the anti-Zionists include Alfred Lilienthal, Moshe Menuhin, Rabbi Elmer Berger, Murray Rothbard, Rabbi Moshe Schonfeld, and Uri Avneri, and he might have thought twice about equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism (while vehemently denouncing those who equate Zionism with racism).

At one point, Volkman writes that "it is possible to tell the history of Judaism by simply reciting one long dirge of anti-Semitism." Possible, yes. But, truthful? To tell the history of Judaism

as one long dirge of anti-Semitism is to practice what Salo W. Baron called the "lachrymose" presentation of Jewish history. In this version, Jewish history is a history of suffering, persecution and martyrdom at the hands of hate-ridden Gentiles. Or, in other words, the Jew is the eternal victim, and, furthermore, never a victimizer. Of course, there are problems with this view. On the one hand, it has to ignore or minimize the various "Golden Ages" that Jews have enjoyed during their history, for example, their five-century-long "Golden Age" in Moslem-ruled Spain. On the other hand, it has to ignore or minimize such things as the Hebrew conquest of Canaan, the forced conversion to Judaism of the Idumeans under John Hyrcanus, Jewish persecution of the early Christians (considered blasphemers for deifying a man), the prominent role of Jews in the slave trade during the early Middle Ages, etc. In line with this one-sided, lachrymose view of Jewish history, Volkman blithely dismisses the victimization of Palestinian Arabs at the hands of Zionist/Israeli Jews. "However much anyone wants to believe that the Palestinians' plight is cause for some concern, it obviously bears no resemblance to the very real plights of the Cambodian refugees, the Vietnamese boat people, the Soviet Jews and the many victims of the torture chambers of Latin America." Thus, while the Soviet Jews' plight is a very real plight, the plight of the Palestinians is no cause for concern. How's that for bias and insensitivity?

And this is not the only manifestation of Volkman's one-sided view of Jewish-Gentile relations. Another is Volkman's abrupt dismissal of the claim that "classical Jewish texts were violently anti-Christian" as a manifestation of "anti-Semitism" while he himself claims that classical Christian texts are anti-Semitic. Is Volkman's reference to "the scriptural anti-Semitism" of Gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus a manifestation of anti-Christian prejudice? If not, then why is the claim that classical Jewish texts were violently anti-Christian necessarily a manifestation of anti-Semitism? I suggest that Volkman open up Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (which he lists in his bibliography) and read the preface to Part One, "Anti-Semitism." There he can find Arendt writing that

it was Jewish historiography, with its strong polemical and apologetic bias, that undertook to trace the record of Jew-hatred in Christian history while it was left to the anti-Semites to trace an intellectually not too dissimilar record from ancient Jewish authorities. When this Jewish tradition of an often violent antagonism to Christians and Gentiles came to light, "the general Jewish public was not only outraged but genuinely astonished," so well had its spokesmen succeeded in convincing themselves and everybody else of the non-fact that Jewish separateness was due exclusively to Gentile hostility and lack of enlightenment.

In short, classical Jewish texts (some of them anyway) were violently anti-Christian, just as some classical Christian texts were anti-Jewish.

Volkman seems almost oblivious to the reality that anti-Semitism is but one side of a coin, the other side of which is anti-Gentilism. But let him consider the following statement, made by a George Mysels of Hollywood in a letter printed in *The Los Angeles Herald Examiner* of 4 January 1982: "I am not lighting a candle for the Polish people because nobody ever lit candles for the millions of Jews who have been murdered by the Poles since Polish history began." Millions of Jews murdered by the Poles? How's that for a "blood libel"? That Mr. Mysels is not simply anti-Polish, but anti-Gentile, is confirmed by a letter printed in the same newspaper the very next day in which he wrote that, "The only friends of Jews are other Jews and a number of apparent Gentiles who are aware of the existence of at least one Jew in their lineage." And let Volkman consider this item from *The Los Angeles Times* of Monday, 11 October 1982:

TEL AVIV (AP)—Police investigating the fire that destroyed Jerusalem's Baptist church have detained two suspects, Israel radio said Sunday.

The radio said the suspects are Jews, one of them a foreigner. There was no immediate police comment on the radio report.

One can't help but wonder if this church-burning was the work of Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach ("Thus") movement. It was a member of Kahane's movement who was recently convicted of plotting to blow up the Dome of the Rock shrine, the mosque at Islam's third holiest site. And it was the Kach movement which, according to *The Los Angeles Times* of 25 October 1982, printed a poster "describing the massacre of Palestinians in Beirut as divine retribution for the past murders of Jews" and saying, "'What we ourselves should have done was done by others.' " Contrary to the image Volkman seeks to create, hatred in Gentile-Jewish relations is not a one-way street; it travels in both directions.

A Legacy of Hate is an awesomely bad book. Amusingly enough, one of Volkman's mentors, Lucy Dawidowicz, in the October, 1982 *Commentary*, calls it "a shoddy book" which "tries to exploit the ripple of anti-Semitic incidents by sounding a general alarm in a chapter called, of all things, 'Kristallnacht.'" And, says Dawidowicz, "Stretching evidence is only one of this book's flaws." True. It has lots of other flaws, including factual inaccuracies, unsupported assertions, incoherent arguments, specious reasoning, and internal contradictions. Shoddy indeed. But, then, what do you expect from a prize-winning journalist?

—L.A. Rollins

Correspondence, continued from p. 358

put all Jews of Transylvania in the same category and consider them altogether "Romanian." I will illustrate this situation with an example taken from my personal research experience.

As the author of a book about American Romanians (published in 1976), I sent thousands of questionnaires to Americans who were not only of Romanian descent, but also to many who were of Hungarian, Jewish or Russian descent but who once lived or were born in Romania (either before or after 1939). Some of them accepted to be listed in my book as Americans of Romanian descent, some others refused, and some did not even bother to answer my questionnaire. In this context it is instrumental to know the reasons of those who refused. They stated clearly their reasons: although born and educated in Romania, they did not consider themselves associated with Romanian culture or traditions.

The same view should be applied to the Jews who lived in Bessarabia and Bucovina in 1939 and became "Soviet" in 1940. These people remained "Soviet" all the way after 1940 even though Romania re-occupied those territories for a short while during the war. I don't see any reason to call them "Romanian" today and count them with the Jews who died in Romania. The situation is the same for the "Bulgarian" Jews who were once "Romanian."

Serban C. Andronescu
New York City

THE WATSON PHENOMENON

It was good to read Thomas Henry Irwin's excellent article on Tom Watson in the Fall 1982 issue of *The Journal*.

It is ironic that Watson was the first important native White Southern leader to treat the Negro's aspirations with any degree of seriousness. Watson regarded Blacks as an integral part of Southern society. Senator Watson urged all to unite against the financial oligarchs, recognizing the money power as the real enemy of all races. Would that we could heed his message today!

Bezalel Chaim
Brooklyn, NY

MIDDLE EAST REVISIONISM

I was especially pleased to see the "Memorandum to the President" in the Fall 1982 *Journal*. As a long time student of the Middle East conflict, I can assure you that this is fertile ground, long neglected by the historical revisionists in the western world with few exceptions. And yet this is a centuries' old conflict which is presently costing Americans billions of dollars each year, not to speak of the untold sufferings of hundreds of thousands of people directly affected by the Zionist interlopers. I am thus certain that the "Memorandum" piece won't be your last publication concerning this conflict because it is so intrinsically connected with other conflicts such as both world wars, major topics of revisionists.

Pitman Buck, Jr.
Texas City, Texas

About the Contributors

RANJAN BORRA is the Senior Reference Librarian, India section, in the Asian Division of the Library of Congress. He was born in Howrah (near Calcutta), India, and was associated with the Indian nationalist movement inspired by Subhas Chandra Bose. He holds a B.A. degree from the American University and a M.A. degree from the University of Maryland. As a free-lance author, political analyst, and one-time editor/broadcaster with the Voice of America, Mr. Borra has become well-known as an articulate commentator on Indian affairs. He is the founder and president of The Subhas Society, which holds annual conferences in Washington, D.C. Currently Mr. Borra is engaged in preparing a bibliography of works by and about Subhas Chandra Bose.

DR. ARTHUR R. BUTZ was born and raised in New York City. He received his B.S. and M.S. degrees from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and his Ph.D. in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota in 1965. In 1966 he joined the faculty at Northwestern University where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences. Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, the most thorough revisionist work on the Holocaust to date.

LEON DEGRELLE is the former leader of the Belgian Rexist movement, and one of the outstanding surviving veterans of the German-led European struggle on the Eastern Front in World War II. Born of French ancestry in 1906 in the town of Bouillon in the Belgian Ardennes, he studied at the University of Louvain where he acquired a doctorate in law. In the 1930s he became one of the principal political figures in Belgium and in Europe, as leader of the Rexist Party, author, publisher, and public speaker. At the age of 35, with no previous military experience, he joined the newly-formed Waffen SS as a private, to participate in the great campaign then underway against Russia. He received all the highest honors for bravery in combat, finally rising to the rank of General. One of the last to remain fighting in the East, he escaped unconditional surrender by flying some 1500 miles across Europe to Spain, where he has since resided, writing prolifically on politics and history.

DR. ANDREAS WESSERLE was born in Prague, Bohemia, and raised in Bavaria. He holds four academic degrees, with distinction, from three American universities in the areas of political sociology, and political science. He has taught at two large universities and two private colleges in this country. In 1965/66 he was a member of the Institute for German Affairs at Marquette University. Since then he has taken part in high-level seminars on modern social-political philosophy, has conducted first-hand research on international politics, and has published both in America and in Europe.

L.A. ROLLINS, 34, received a B.A. degree in Philosophy from California State College at Los Angeles in 1970. He is a free-lance writer and has contributed to such publications as *The Personalist*, *Outlook*, *Reason*, *New Libertarian*, *Critique* and *Grump*. For several years, he has been researching "the Holocaust" and related matters.

We are living in an Orwellian world where "peace" means war preparation, where "defense strategy" consists of waging aggressive war, and where "our best national interest" somehow justifies perpetually failing global meddling, stifling middle-class taxation and massive debt-creating overseas financial aid—even to our enemies.

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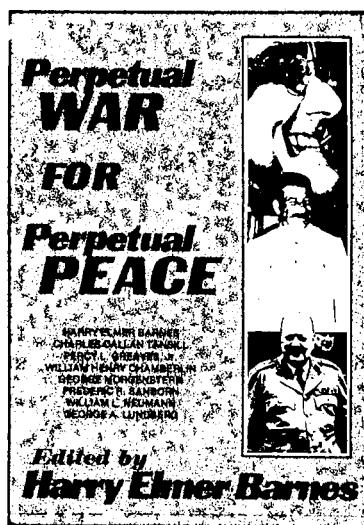
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Barnes



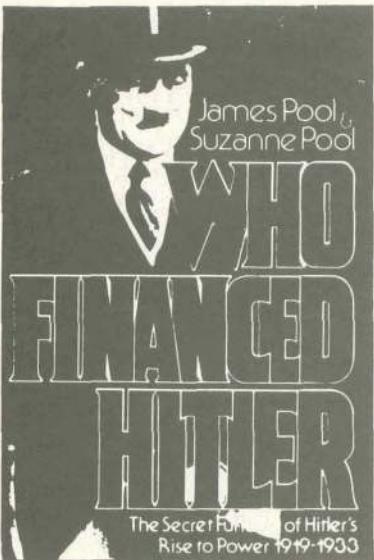
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